Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-033
Friday
19 February 1988

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FBIS-SOV-88-033 *19 February 1988*

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Defense Ministry Communique on SS-20's

LD181851 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—A communique of the USSR Ministry of Defence was distributed here. It says:

"Inventions are being circulated lately in the United States claiming that the Soviet Union has 160 more SS-20 missiles than stated by the Soviet side in the memorandum of accord in connection with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. It is alleged that the USSR has deployed 441 SS-20 launchers and not 405 as it is indicated in the memorandum. In addition to this it is contended that among the deployed missiles are 27 SS-20 missiles that the Soviet press had reported already in 1985 as withdrawn from standby duty. To make these claims appear more trustworthy references are being made to Pentagon official representatives and the Intelligence Agency of the U.S. Department of Defence.

"In reality all these rumours circulated in the United States are totally groundless. The data given in the memorandum accords with the actual number of SS-20 missiles that the USSR had as of November 1, 1987: A total of 650 missiles of which 405 are deployed on launchers and 245 are non-deployed (in storage). The 27 SS-20 missiles which were unilaterally withdrawn from standby duty were put into storage and indicated in the memorandum among the non-deployed missiles.

"So the attempt undertaken by certain circles in the United States to sow doubt about the accuracy of the data presented by the Soviet side is a deliberate misinformation.

"What attracts attention in this connection is that it is precisely in the United States that production is being continued of intermediate-range missiles subject to elimination and launches of such missiles are being carried out whereas the Soviet Union after signing the treaty ceased the production of intermediate-range missiles and also refrains from launches of such missiles.

"Besides, the American side to to this day has not named the sites for the elimination of the U.S. missiles and has not presented photographs of its intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles that would accord with the agreed-upon criteria worked out in the course of the talks. Such an exchange of data is stipulated by the treaty".

Petrovskiy Addresses Disarmament Conference

LD181648 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 18 TASS—Soviet deputy foreign minister addressed the Geneva Conference on Disarmament today.

The political situation shaping in the world, he said, is giving international mechanisms for talks, including the disarmament conference, a strong impulse to gain a working speed exceeding that of the arms race.

"We are living through a crucial, watershed moment when prospects are being opened up for fashioning a new, more advanced, democratic and humane type of international relations that will be free from intimidation, mutual threats and mustrust," Petrovskiy continued.

Time itself is posing challenging tasks and setting ambitious goals. "After the Washington summit we all have a better idea of what and how should be done to achieve security through disarmament," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

He described the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as having furnished undeniable proof that disarmament is feasible, and as a first step to making disarmament a steadily progressing and accelerating process.

At Soviet-American talks the Soviet delegation is consistently working for the realization of the understandings reached at the Washington meeting to draft an agreement on 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive arms and on continued abidance by the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972.

The Soviet delegation, Petrovskiy said, is demonstrating the required flexibility and actively looking for mutually acceptable solutions to the more difficult issues.

"However, we cannot but be concerned about the fact that the American side, while in words proclaiming a commitment to the Washington accords, in practice is departing from them markedly and thereby blocking progress to the fulfillment of the tasks set to the delegations both as regards adherence to the ABM Treaty and in what concerns cuts in strategic offensive arms.

"We hope that the American side realizes that the talks cannot be a one-actor threater and that it will show genuine readiness to search for mutually acceptable accords," Petrovskiy said.

The prime tasks now that there are outlines of prospects for bridling the arms race is to ensure uninterrupted headway in all areas of disarmament. This is directly connected with increasing the role and payback of the disarmament conference, a unique negotiating forum of multilateral diplomacy.

The most urgent issue of its full agenda, an issue offering real possibilities to achieve immediate results, is one of prohibiting chemical weapons. It is in this area that the conference can make what will effectively be the final dash on the finishing straight.

But there are dangerous trends as well. The United States has embarked on the manufacture of binary chemical weapons. France is claiming the need for a so-called "safety stock" of chemical weapons.

"The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that it is inadmissible either from the political or from the moral standpoints to procrastinate work on a convention for destroying chemical weapons.

"It is imperative to press for the earliest and strictest ban on everything connected with chemical weapons and to look for common answers to the remaining problems in a bold manner, in the spirit of new political thinking, correctly assessing and taking into account both one's own interests and the interests of one's partners at the talks, including the interests of protection for commercial secrets," Petrovskiy said.

With a view to facilitating the practical resolution of issues of international verification and fostering an atmosphere of trust, the Soviet delegation, Petrovskiy said, is suggesting to the conference a memorandum on multilateral exchanges of data in connection with the drafting of a convention on a complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

It is proposed that as a good will gesture, each state participating in the talks provide general information as early as in the first half of 1988 on whether it has chemical weapons stocks (specifying their approximate amount) and chemical weapons production facilities and on earlier transfers or acquisitions of chemical weapons on technologies and equipment for their production.

It would be desirable subsequently that by agreed dates each state report the number of its chemical weapons depots, chemical weapons production facilities, commercial facilities for the manufacture of key precursors and dual-purpose chemicals, corresponding laboratories, and so on.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Union, Petrovskiy said, is suggesting that the states participating in the talks agree to allocate each, on a voluntary basis, one facility at which a specially formed international expert group would test procedures being developed at the negotiations for systematic international monitoring over the non-production of chemical weapons in the commercial industry.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister stressed the inadmissibility of stalling at the conference in such a priority area as nuclear disarmament. For the conference to be able to get down to nuclear disarmament talks, it is essential to overcome the blind commitment of a number of countries to the nuclear deterrence concept.

The Soviet Union proposes beginning work without delay to define in practical terms the substance of multilateral measures in the field of nuclear disarmament.

The interests of all states would be met also by drawing up within the framework of the conference a draft multilateral treaty on a complete and general prohibition of nuclear testing. The conference can begin, in particular, coming to terms on an international verification mechanism, including on-site inspections, the creation of an international system for seismic and radiation monitoring, and the functions of international verification agencies.

The Soviet Union, Petrovskiy said, supports Sweden's proposal for developing a verification station on the disarmament conference and believes that such a station could be set up on a cooperative basis so as to give the possibility to take a direct part to all willing countries.

Time has come to convert conference work to practical terms also in preventing an arms race in outer space. "We are making new proposals for concretizing the ideas of creating an international space inspectorate to see to it that no objects launched and deployed in space will be weapons or be equipped with arms of any kind.

"Provision could be made for a permanent presence of inspector groups at all testing ranges for space launches, for inspections at agreed storages, factories, laboratories and test centers, and for a challenge inspection, which cannot be refused, in case of a suspected undeclared launch of a space object," Petrovskiy continued.

The current session of the disarmament conference, the Soviet delegate said, is taking place directly ahead of the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, which opens on May 31, 1988, and which is to hold broad-based and all-round discussions on the military parameters of a comprehensive system of international security, in other words, on ways of bringing about disarmament and strengthening trust that lead to a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The conference, Petrovskiy said, has every possibility to come to that outstanding forum with a substantial package of solved issues, first of all a finalized draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

INF Ratification Commission Discusses Treaty

LD191023 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] A meeting of the preparatory commission for working out recommendations and proposals concerning the ratification of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is taking place in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking part in the discussion are experts from academic institutes, representatives of ministries, and the Soviet public. Soviet and foreign journalists have been invited to attend the meeting.

The meeting was opened by Georgiy Markovich Korniyenko, first deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Public Wary of INF Treaty Ratification
LD181747 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0435 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Commentator Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] The subject of our conversation today is the ratification process of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. At the microphone is the author, commentator Viktor Levin:

[Levin] From our reports you already know, esteemed comrades, that hearings resumed in the U.S. Congress on Tuesday about the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The ratification process is also continuing in the Soviet Union. The first session of the foreign affairs commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet took place last week. New debates lie ahead. I would also like to remind you that a preparatory commission was formed at the first session which has been charged with carrying out a detailed and thorough study of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

In a figure of speech by Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, a popular acceptance of the concluded treaty is in essence taking place in our country; not only members of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet but also many of the country's citizens are expressing their view of this document. It is not a secret that the Soviet public does not have a unanimous opinion about this treaty. People are asking questions, expressing their misgivings. In the government and in the Supreme Soviet this is regarded with deep understanding, both as an expression of not being indifferent to the decision being adopted and as the opinion of wide public circles. Naturally this absence of indifference to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a reflection of real people's power, a sign of the changes taking place in the country testifying to the assertion of a democratic process and an atmosphere of glasnot in our society.

As soon as the first session of the foreign affairs commissions, USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze and Defense Minister Comrade Yazov gave convincing answers to those questions which worry the public. The main problem causing concern is apprehension about whether the signed treaty does not violate the balanced correlation of forces and whether it does not undermine the security of our country. Comrade Shevardnadze showed that this treaty is a compromise which has been adjusted in political, military, and technical respects; a balance of interests; and a balance of security. In the prevailing circumstances, noted Comrade Shevardnadze, this is the maximum in real terms which it was possible to achieve. Defense Minister Yazov also gave a thorough answer. The USSR Ministry of Defense, he said, considers that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, being an important boundary in international development, will make it possible to lower the level of military danger and tension and consequently will increase our security and the security of other socialist states.

Once again I remind you that these replies were deeply well-founded; nonetheless, commissions of the Supreme Soviet considered it essential to also create a preparatory commission which should clear up quite a few questions by meeting experts and specialists and by taking into account the wishes and observations of the Soviet public. To judge not only from the materials of the session of the foreign affairs commissions but also from the mail which comes to us at the studio, one can say that the Soviet people approve of the treaty signed in December of last year in Washington. The questions which are being asked are not directed at declining to ratify it, but this does not mean that attention need not be paid to these questions. As I see it, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet who are members of the foreign affairs commissions are putting their questions in order to vote for the ratification of the treaty—they are speaking out for its approval and in order to vote for it, not mechanically, not because it was signed on the Soviet side by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, but because they themselves are deeply and sincerely convinced of the need and usefulness of this treaty. Those elected by the people are deeply analyzing the content of the treaty and weighing up the consequences of implementing it. This process is continuing and I think that by the time the question of the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles arises, all doubts and all worries will have been dispersed.

As one can judge from reports from Washington, quite a few questions are also being put there during the discussion of this same treaty, but in the Senate committees, many questions are dictated not by an effort to explain the essence of the treaty more deeply, but by attempts if not to torpedo it, then to emasculate its contents and to halt the process being opened up by this treaty for the limitation and elimination of nuclear weapons. I will not dwell in detail now on the debates in the U.S. Congress. Quite enough information is provided on this. I would like to draw your attention to the following detail: I don't know what considerations were the basis, since earlier he seemed to come out for the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, but last Saturday Robert Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, stated in a radio speech that supposedly the people of the United States and European countries are worried about the question of what this treaty means for the future, and

supposedly the signing of it has engendered not only optimism but also new uncertainties and dangers. The statement claims to express the view of the peoples of the United States and Western Europe, but how far does it correspond to reality? Let's turn to the facts: The primaries, which have already taken place in two U.S. states—in Iowa and New Hampshire—at which the chances of aspirants to the position of U.S. President are being weighed up, give grounds for drawing the conclusion that Americans are giving a clear preference to those politicans who speak out for the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. I also think that the noticeable, not to say significant, success, of Vice President Bush in the state of New Hampshire is determined namely by the fact that he has laid a stake more clearly and definitely in his election campaign on the ratification of the missile treaty than he did in the state of Iowa, where he came in third place among the Republicans. Of course, two states are not the whole of the United States but they do allow you to judge the American people's attitude to the treaty.

Now let's turn to Western Europe. In front of me I have the results of a public opinion poll which was conducted by the U.S. Information Agency, USIA for short. This poll showed that the overwhelming majority of citizens in Western Europe support this treaty. The expression overwhelming majority is used fairly frequently and if one does not turn to figures, then it can be interpreted very widely, but here are specific figures: 97 percent of those polled supported the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the FRG. The lowest result was registered in France, but even there it came to 78 percent. I think you'll agree that 97 percent gives grounds for talking about not simply an overwhelming majority but even total support. And the French indicator is very high. It is true that as far as France is concerned then certain reservations seem appropriate to me here. The poll conducted by the USIA showed that France gives the relatively lowest appraisal to the treaty and together with this it is in France that most people consider that the treaty makes Western Europe more vulnerable to a Soviet attack. Among those polled, 33 percent gave a positive answer to that question. Incidentally, in the selfsame FRG, which is located directly on the demarcation line with the states of the Warsaw Pact organization, only 16 percent adhere to such a view—that is the lowest indicator. It turns out that France is the most afraid of the Soviet threat. One has to ascertain that the mass news media and the ruling circles in that country have not only succeeded to a certain extent in fanning the myth of a Soviet threat, but also continue to persistently instill this false thesis. But even there—I'll repeat it again—78 percent of citizens support the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

This treaty has become the first step on the road to a real destruction of nuclear weapons. That is how it is being evaluated in many countries of the world. It is in this fact that they see its main significance, although nobody is shutting their eyes to the fact that this is far from being just a symbol; it is a real instrument for the destruction of 4 percent of nuclear weapons which have been accumulated in the world. Mankind is tired of living under the threat of nuclear destruction. People thirst for a guaranteed future. The treaty reinforces this certainty and that is why it has such widespread support.

Air Defense Commander Views ABM Accord

LD180202 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces, the weekly MOSCOW NEWS carried an interview with the air defense commander and deputy defense minister of the USSR, General Ivan Tretyak. We present some excerpts from this interview:

Gen Tretyak said (?that as he had been a) World War II veteran who had seen blood and death, (?he) would only be too glad to see the Army consisting of guards of honor and military orchestras. He described a world without weapons or violence as an ideal of socialism. The new political thinking, the general continued, is known to have already yielded impressive results in the international arena. One such result was the Soviet-American INF Treaty, signed at the end of last year, to scrap two classes of nuclear missiles.

Gen Tretyak said World War II had taught this country a good lesson, urging the USSR to have everything necessary to ensure the reliable defense of both itself and its allies. The general described as the fundamental task in building and developing air defense systems the readiness to rebuff any armed aggression and prevent air strikes on this country's major installations and armed forces. He said Soviet air defense forces were ready to carry out that task.

Asked about the antiballistic missile defense of Moscow, Gen Ivan Tretyak said that under the 1972 ABM Treaty the United States and the Soviet Union had been given the right to establish two ABM zones, each in their vitally important regions; and the 1974 additional protocol had reduced the number of such zones to one. The Americans had chosen as such the base of heaviest intercontinental ballistic missiles at Grand Forks, and this country had chosen Moscow. Thus, the United States had decided to protect its means of aggression and the USSR had chosen to preserve its multimillion capital, a world cultural center. The general said the ABM zone around Moscow was exactly in line with the ABM Treaty and was highly reliable, but still, he added, discussions today should center round the strict observance of the treaty and simultaneous cuts in strategic offensive weapons rather than how to enhance the efficiency of ABM systems.

Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev Briefs Journalists

Coming Shultz Visit Cited

LD181538 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—"The forthcoming visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Moscow is seen by us in the context of the overall development of Soviet-American relations, as continuing and furthering the political dialogue at the top which took place in Washington, and in the framework of preparations for another Soviet-American summit in Moscow," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

"The Soviet side proceeds from the premise that emphasis in the discussions during the visit will, as always, be on the key issues connected with strengthening international peace and security, in particular further measures to reduce nuclear arms.

"In present-day conditions this means, specifically, halving strategic offensive arms, while observing the ABM Treaty and not withdrawing from it for an agreed period. This is, no doubt, the top-priority problem.

"It has been recognized as such at the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington and, as demonstrated by experience, it is this problem that is the dominant one at Soviet-American talks.

"The negotiations will, naturally, cover also other subjects related to security and disarmament, in particular the problems of conventional weapons and armed forces and measures to complete drafting work on an international convention for banning and destroying chemical weapons.

"We have things to discuss, of course, in the issue of gradually terminating nuclear testing as well. Full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks on the issue are currently under way and the forthcoming negotiations in Moscow can give a corresponding fillip to them so that specific results be obtained as soon as possible.

"The next set of issues are regional problems. Many issues were discussed frankly, seriously and in a businesslike manner at the meeting in Washington. A substantive exchange will be held in Moscow as well," the spokesman said.

"I can surmise that the issues of a Middle East settlement will be covered. The Soviet position on an Afghan settlement will be set forth. There are also a number of other regional problems well-known to all, such as the Iran-Iraq war, a Central American settlement, and Kampuchea. Southern Africa is another possible topic," Perfilyev continued.

"As far as bilateral relations are concerned, there are signs of additional opportunities for broadening them. It may prove possible to formalize some understandings during the U.S. secretary of state's visit to Moscow as well, for example the one on fishing in the economic zones of both countries.

"In the framework of discussions on bilateral relations, we have in mind touching on the problem of human rights as well. We have raised before the American side a number of issues concerning the human rights situation in the United States. We too are confronted with such questions which we shall be prepared to answer," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Visit Date, Itinerary Noted

LD181341 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will come to Moscow on February 21. On the same day he will begin talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that three rounds of talks were scheduled for next Sunday.

Conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov had been slated for February 22, said the Soviet spokesman. Soviet-American talks would be continued and completed.

A press conference by the U.S. secretary of state on the results of his visit was planned for the morning of February 23.

INF Treaty Review Commission

LD181440 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—The Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles has met with approval in the USSR. At the same time, in letters to the USSR Supreme Soviet people want to know if the treaty really corresponds to our state interests and ensures the security of the USSR without weakening its defense capability, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today.

On the work of the preparatory commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which discusses questions connected with the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, he said: "Despite the fact that the signing of the document was preceded by a great amount of preparatory work, that all its consequences were duly considered, a decision was taken to reexamine in the most detailed fashion all aspects of the treaty in the course of the work."

Representatives of the departments directly involved in preparing the INF Treaty, first of all, the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Ministry of Defense, will give all the necessary explanations to the members of the commission. The preparatory commission also plans to hear out the opinions of independent experts, who do not represent interested departments, but ahve knowledge in the relative fields. These include Soviet scientists in the first place.

"The possibility to speak will also be given to the representatives of socialist countries, affected by the treaty. Representatives of mass organisations will also be able to speak at the meetings of the preparatory commission. Oral and written statements from citizens will be examined."

Journalists will be invited to the meetings of the commission, except the closed ones which will discuss questions relating to the interests of security of the Soviet state.

Geneva Arms Talks Slow

LD181455 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—"The Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms are indeed proceeding more slowly than expected," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Replying to journalists' questions, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said: "This does not satisfy us, of course. The more so for the Soviet delegation applied ample efforts, including in the recent days, to facilitate advancement towards accords.

"Quite a few constructive proposals were advanced, but that has not as yet brought about essential change.

"We hope that the talks to be held in Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will promote progress in that area."

"We proceed from the premise that an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms with strict observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it for an agreed upon period can be drafted by Mikhail Gorabchev's meeting with Ronald Reagan in Moscow," the spokesman said.

"Much has already been done. Groundwork has been established—this is the Washington agreement between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President on the expediency of drafting the treaty to be signed during the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in Moscow.

"Both sides have vast experience of work in that area. The main thing here is the political will and sincere desire of the two sides to come to an agreement."

Reports on Lithuania Conflict

LD181542 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—A deputy head of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry has commented on REUTER reports, dated February 16 and 17, on Lithuania (a Soviet republic in the Baltic).

Speaking at a briefing here today, Vadim Perfilyev quoted the report by REUTER Moscow correspondent Robert Evans from Kaunas as saying that "Soviet Lithuania's second city was quiet on Tuesday" and "there was no sign of any unusual police precautions" in the city.

However, another REUTER report, this time from Paris, quoted emigrant sources there speaking about some special church services, hundreds of protesters, rubber clubs, manhunts in Kaunas streets, etc.

The ministry spokesman contended that Paris was hardly the best place from where to judge about events in Kaunas.

Settling Afghan Problem

LD181425 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—"Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, the constructive proposals contained in it, were received by the world public as the all-important pre-condition for a successful holding of the regular Afghan-Pakistani negotiations through the personal envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Diego Cordovez opening in Geneva on March 2", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing today.

"To give effect to the ideas and provisions contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, the Soviet Union makes vigorous efforts through diplomatic channels", he said.

For instance, on February 10-11, Yuliy Vorontsov, first Soviet deputy foreign minister, met the Pakistani leadership in Islamabad. Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister, on February 16 was met by the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran to whom he conveyed

Mikhail Gorbachev's oral message on Afghanistan. Vladimir Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry collegium, visited Syria and Jordan and conveyed Mikhail Gorbachev's message on Afghanistan to those countries' leaders.

Mikhail Sytenko, ambassador at large, had a meeting in Tunisia with Chedli Klibi, general secretary of the League of Arab States, to whom he conveyed Mikhail Gorbachev's message. Oleg Grinevskiy, ambassador at large, met with Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, and conveyed the similar message to him.

"The Soviet Union considers as an indispensable condition the honest fulfillment by the United States and its ally Pakistan of their obligations on settling the Afghan problem", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized. "Common sense should take the upper hand. The undeclared war in Afghanistan can and should be ended this year. All grounds and all pre-conditions exist for this now", Vadim Perfilyev said.

Israeli Acts 'Provocative'

LD181509 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—"The terror launched by Israeli secret services against the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and its representatives in Cyprus is of clearly provocative nature", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today. In this connection he drew attention to the explosion of the car with three Palestinian officials in it and also to the blast that rocked a vessel in a port in Cyprus, by which Palestinians from occupied territories had to depart on a peace mission.

"This way Tel Aviv would like to stymie peaceful and utterly non-violent actions by Palestinians, to prod them to tough retaliatory measures so as to accuse the PLO for one more time of commitment to terrorism", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

"All these clumsy and, what is the main thing, dangerous actions are evidence of Tel Aviv's stubbornness, its inability to abandon the power politics stereotypes which are helpless in the new circumstances. Israel should admit at long last that the problem of the Palestinian people should be solved by political methods at an international conference as it is proposed by the PLO and together with it by the entire world. Such is the imperative of the time".

Perfilyev told the briefing about the diplomatic efforts being made by the Soviet Union in this direction. He noted that Vladimir Polyakov, member of the Soviet Foreign Ministry collegium, head of the Department of the Middle Eastern and North African countries, was in the Middle East now. During his trip he met and talked with Faruq al-Shar', foreign minister of Syria, Zayd al-Rifa'i, prime minister of Jordan, and Tahir al-Masri, foreign minister of that state.

In Amman Polyakov was received by Crown Prince Hasan. During the talks the sides discuss the issues of defusing the Arab-Israeli conflict and convening an international conference. They point out that this forum and it alone would allow the formulation of a sensible and mutually acceptable balance of interests and aspirations of the Middle Eastern states and peoples", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed. [quotation mark as received]

Radio Report on Briefing

LD190010 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] There was a briefing on urgent issues of international politics today for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry press center in Moscow. It was conducted by Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. Addressing those assembled, he said, among other things:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The topic to which I would like to draw your attention is Israel's terrorist activity regarding the PLO and its representatives in Cyprus. The whole world is truly outraged at these activities: A car, containing three Palestinian officials, was blown up; serious damage was done with the aid of an explosive device to a vessel on which Palestinians from the occupied territories were to set out on a peace mission. The terror unleashed by the Israeli special services has an evidently provocative underlying cause. Obviously, Tel Aviv does not merely wish in this manner to undermine the peaceful and exclusively nonviolent actions of the Palestinians but also to egg them on to harsh reprisal measures in order then to blame the PLO for adhering to terrorism. All these clumsy, and more importantly dangerous, actions of the Israelis which increase the repression of the peaceful Palestinian population in the occupied territories—taking the form of scandalous acts of violence, such as, for instance the attempt to bury alive four Palestinian youths—attest to the stubborness of Tel Aviv, its inability to reject stereotypes, and its pursuit of a policy of strength which is futile in the new conditions.

However, Israel, it seems, will have to acknowledge that the political problem of the national destiny of the Palestinian people needs to be solved by political methods at an international conference, as proposed by the PLO, and with it the world as a whole. Such is the requirement of the times. Israel's actions were categorically denounced at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva recently, which is looking into the issue of human rights violations in the occupied Arab territories.

Now, to continue as it were the Near East theme, I would like to tell you that Polyakov, collegium member of the USSR Foreign Ministry and chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration, is in the Near East. During his trip, he met and talked with Syrian Foreign Minister al-Shar', Jordanian Prime Minister al-Rifa'i, and Jordanian Foreign Minister al-Masri. Polyakov was received by Crown Prince Hasan in Amman. The conversations concerned unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict and to that end convening an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO and the UN Security Council permanent members. The sides note that only a forum of this kind can enable the working out of a rational, mutually acceptable balance of the interests and hopes of the states and peoples of the Near East. Comrade Polyakov is now in Cairo.

I think all those present will agree that journalism is one of the oldest professions, and its rules are as old as the world. If you have not seen and heard for yourself, rely only on an authentic source, preferably eyewitnesses. An illustration of the truth of what I have said is, for example, the REUTER agency report of 16-17 February on Lithuania. It was drafted and transmitted from Kaunas by Robert Evans, REUTER Moscow correspondent, who visited the town as part of a group of foreign correspondents.

Here is what his report said, among other things, and I quote: There were no signs of a demonstration or increased security measures in Kaunas on Tuesday afternoon. The report also includes information on the author's personal impressions, his analysis of the situation, and excerpts from interviews with the people he met. It is, overall, the report of an eyewitness. Then, on the same tape, there is a report by the same agency but this time from Paris as to what, allegedly, took place that day in Kaunas. Referring to emigre circles, we are already talking about a special church service, hundreds of demonstrators, rubber truncheons, pursuing people through the streets of Kaunas, and so forth. In this connection, I should like to recall the statement of the head of the Lithuanian Catholic Church on 9 February, which reads, and I quote: In February, church services will, as usual, follow the liturgical calendar. Of course, Paris is a big city, and all those of us who have been there have experienced this—it is much bigger than Kaunas. All the same, it is better not to judge events in Kaunas from Paris. The ancient wisdom remains the same—eyewitnesses see better. [end recording]

Tallinn Roundtable on Baltic States Held

PM181615 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Truth Against Prejudice"]

[Text] Tallinn—The truth is born when bias and prejudice die. I believe that certain prejudices have been dispelled today.

With these words V. Milyutenko, deputy chairman of the NOVOSTI board, concluded a "roundtable" in Tallinn organized by NOVOSTI and the Baltic republics' public organizations. Foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow were invited to it. The subject was development prospects and national relations in the Soviet Baltic region. Members of delegations from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia answered questions from representatives of leading publications and television and radio companies from the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, India, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Japan, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and our country. The discussion—the talk at once went beyond questions and answers—was conducted on complex problems of the democratization of life, the economy, and relationships among various groups of society in the course of restructuring. Nationalist manifestations in the Baltic region, which have been written about both in our press and abroad, were also touched upon.

I believe that the frank and detailed replies from scientists, economists, and writers helped the journalists—at any rate, those interested in reality and objectivity—to understand the special features in the historical development and the contemporary life of the peoples of the Baltic region.

Both the achievements and negative phenomena slowing down economic development, the relationships between cultures, and the problems of bilingualism and migration as a part of interethnic relations were honestly spoken about.

Naturally, not all the explanations and arguments were received with 100-percent faith. But, in my view, the discussion convinced people of the main thing: The little nationalist groups, to whose conduct and pranks so much attention is being paid in the foreign press, are certainly not champions of restructuring or fighters for democracy. They are active opponents of change. This in itself is not terrible. Something else is worse: They play into the hands of those who would like to slow down and wreck the renewal of Soviet society. We know that such forces exist both inside the country and abroad.

The day after the "roundtable," foreign correspondents visited the Kirov Fishing Kolkhoz and met with leaders of local soviets in the ancient city hall.

Success of Soviet Loan Flotation Examined

PM181629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy Geneva dispatch, followed by interview with S.N. Dergachev, deputy chief of the International Currency Operations Administration of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, by V. Mikheyev, under the general heading: "Switzerland: Loan of 100 Million"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Geneva—The Soviet bond loan successfully floated in Switzerland in freely convertible currency is a major event in the banking world this year.

Commenting on the sale of bonds to the value of 100 million Swiss francs by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank], the newspaper JOURNAL DE GENEVE, which is closely linked with local banking circles, pointed out that this first large-scale operation has "successfully passed the ordeal by fire." Swiss bankers are known for their caution and slowness in business operations, and any new deal in this country represents a great complexity.

What, then, is the reason for such great confidence in the Soviet loan floated in Switzerland? The bonds, whose liquidation will begin in 10 years' time with an income of 5 percent per annum payable to their holder, sold out in just 4 days. They were acquired by banks, commercial firms, companies, and private individuals—from housewives to pensioners. "We are not yet ready to make our assessment of the Vneshekonombank operation," I was told in the public relations department of the Union of Swiss Banks, the major banking association, in reply to a request to comment on the events.

The Swiss press, which is usually sparing of compliments on our economic reforms, still cites individual assessments. "A great success," the newspaper VINGT-QUATRE HEURES writes, citing the opinion of a spokesman for the Zurich branch of the West German Bank fuer Kredit und Aussenhandel. Reporting its own opinion of the reasons for the Swiss people's confidence in the Soviet loan, JOURNAL DE GENEVE associates it with the Soviet restructuring and the hopes for positive changes.

Of course, not all assessments coincide with those cited. NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, which is published in the city where the Soviet bonds were bought up particularly actively, carried a letter from a reader who tried to intimidate his compatriots with the perfidy of the Russians and with very meaningful hints that something dangerous undoubtedly lies behind the bonds.

There may be some people who will believe this. But the IZVESTIYA correspondent's center has already received several telephone calls: People have asked to be given the address of the Soviet Vneshekonombank representative and inquired when it will be possible to acquire Soviet bonds again. [dispatch ends]

Specialist's Explanations [subhead]

How do Soviet experts assess the emergence onto a new financial market? The editors put this question to Sergey Nikolayevich Dergachev, chief of the USSR Vneshekonombank International Currency Operations Administration.

[Dergachev] This really is the first time our bank has used a bond loan as a method of mobilizing financial resources. The terms of its liquidation, as IZVESTIYA's Geneva correspondent has mentioned, are market terms for first-class loan raisers. I will add that the loan was organized by the Bank fuer Kredit und Aussenhandel—the Zurich branch of the major FRG Westdeutsche Landesbank. A further 16 banks, including not only local banks but also the Swiss branches of FRG, Japanese, Italian, and British banks, are involved in floating the bonds. Today it can be said that the success of this unprecedented operation has exceeded all expectations.

[Mikheyev] You said, "Unprecedented." Does this mean that we are appearing in the role of novices?

[Dergachev] Not quite. Previously our bank attracted long-term currency funds primarily in the form of consortium credits and "bank-to-bank" credits. In recent years, we made active use of our temporarily free currency reserves to buy and sell foreign loan raisers' bonds with a view to making a profit. So we have accumulated certain experience, although the bond loan is undoubtedly a new stage in the USSR Vneshekonombank's activity.

[Mikheyev] How is the rate calculated for Soviet securities?

[Dergachev] First, about the so-called base terms: These are the coupon rate, or the income obtained by investors on our bonds, and the term and value of the loan itself. Then an important role is played by the level of interest rates that takes shape for the period corresponding to the loan liquidation term. Other factors also have an effect, such as, for example, fluctuations in the demand for our bonds and the market's assessment of the loan raiser's solvency. Sometimes the market could react to a rumor or to talk. Here the "quality of name" factor comes into effect.

[Mikheyev] Does the USSR Vneshekonombank possess this in international financial markets?

[Dergachev] Judge for yourself. The Swiss money market is distinguished by developed and, consequently, orderly and strict internal legislation. It is a prestigious market. The fact that the USSR Vneshekonombank has passed through the "sieve" of a multitude of conditions and gained access to it attests to its reputation as a reliable loan raiser. This has been aided by a comparatively rich biography (our bank is more than 60 years old), by the existence of its own branch in Zurich, and by the correct choice of moment to issue bonds. The investors, who include trust and investment funds, industrial companies having free liquidity—that is, "live" money—various financial establishments, and private investors, have estimated this at its true worth.

[Mikheyev] K. Uindkheym [name as published], a spokesman for the Prudential Insurance Company, made this comment on the interest shown in our bond loan: "I would say that some mad dentist in Belgium might have bought these bonds or that some Swiss guy has acquired them in the belief that the Soviets will take

over the world and in the desire to have some insurance." THE WALL STREET JOURNAL in turn has called this step a "red trick." What is your opinion?

[Dergachev] Naturally, the response to the issue of "red" bonds in the West has not been unequivocal. Some people have tried to discredit and even wreck our operation under the slogan "Don't give money to the Soviets!" I think it is also relevant that, according to international regulations, we prepared a prospectus containing detailed information not only on the terms of the loan but also on the loan raiser. It included information of a general nature on the changes taking place in the USSR, the restructuring of the economy, the reform of the banking system, and so forth. For many Western investors, this "opened up" another aspect of socialism. However, the majority of commentaries and the actual result of the loan flotation in Switzerland attest to the growth of confidence in our country. Many people liked this USSR initiative in the financial sphere. In a wider context it is a consequence of the improving international situation and of the breakthrough in the matter of real disarmament.

[Mikheyev] Readers will be interested to learn where the money that has been raised will go.

[Dergachev] I can report that on 9 February all the money raised on the loan flotation was credited to our account in a Swiss bank. It will be used to finance East-West trade and economic relations.

United States & Canada

President Reagan Sends Draft Budget to Congress

LD190413 Moscow TASS in English
0050 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 18 TASS—President Reagan today sent to the U.S. Congress his draft federal budget for the 1989 fiscal year. The draft budget envisages government expenditures of 1,090 billion dollars as compared to 1,024 billion dollars in the current year. Despite the proposal to increase taxation by 14 billion dollars and cut a number of social programs, the revenues do not cover the expenditures and the draft envisages a federal budget deficit of 129.5 billion dollars.

Not a single budgetary draft of the current administration has been approved by the legislation as proposed by the White House. The Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress make changes in the drafts proposed by the Administration. There are chances this year, however, that at least some of the main provisions of the draft budget will be accepted since the drafting was preceeded by extensive talks on the federal budget between the White House and congressional leaders. In the framework of the budgetary agreement reached in February last, the President consented to the slowing down of the growth of U.S. military expenditures. Under the agreement he asked for the ceiling to the military expenditures at 299.5 billion dollars as compared with 292 billion dollars in the current year. In view of predominant attitudes on the Capitol Hill, the President proposes an increase in the expenditures on education, even though he has been insisting on their reduction so far. At the same time, Reagan proposes to scrap such programs supported by the legislators as the subsidizing of the urban transport and aid in providing housing for poor families.

Presenting the budget, Reagan said that he had kept to his side of the bargain and urged the congressmen to act likewise. Yet not all on the Capitol Hill hold that the new draft budget is in keeping with the letter, let alone the spirit, of the agreement with the legislators.

Shultz, Pakistan's Noorani Comment on Talks

LD181651 Moscow TASS in English
1543 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

On Wednesday U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz met Pakistani state Minister for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani who arrived here on a visit. The talks centred on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

Analysts link the visit by the Pakistan minister who arrived in Washington for consultations with the overseas partner, directly with stepped-up diplomatic activities sparked by the recent statement by Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan. Speaking at a press conference held on Wednesday at the Washington centre for foreign journalists, a high-ranking representative of the State Department described the statement as "very promising". However, he said that the American side would like to specify some particulars during the coming visit to Moscow by U.S. State Secretary George Shultz.

Zain Noorani told journalists after the talks at the U.S. State Department that there were many similar things in the positions of the United States and Pakistan with respect to the Afghan problem. The Pakistani minister expressed the hope that an agreement would be concluded by the middle or end of March at the Geneva talks on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

At the same time Noorani repeated Islamabad's earlier stated position interfering with the earliest signing of such an agreement. Forgetting evidently its previous statement, the Pakistani leadership decided to put forth a demand on forming a transitional government in Afghanistan as a condition for signing an agreement with Kabul. Noorani alleged in the talk with journalists that the United States, in principle, was not against such an idea either. However, according to the newspaper "WASHINGTON POST", such a possibility is regarded with scepticism by U.S. official quarters.

Some U.S. congressmen voiced a serious concern over such a postion of Pakistan. Speaking at hearings on Wednesday, Stephen Solarz, an influential congressman heading the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, pointed out that Pakistan had changed its postion on a peaceful settlement at a time when hopes for achieving an accord appeared at long last. He noted that the following question involuntarily came to one's mind: Does not this new Pakistani postion interfere with the existing possibility for resolving the Afghanistan situation.

Allies Used To Extend U.S. Presence in Asia

OW190107 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
0600 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Shakov commentary]

[Text] Pakistan's military expenditure in the last fiscal year was nearly three times that of 10 years ago, according to the Indian paper PATRIOT. The Indian publication said that Pakistan's military expenditure accounted for almost one-third of its annual appropriations. In this regard, station observer Shakov writes:

People have long been aware that countries cooperating with the United States are unable to avoid militarizing their economies. Thailand, Pakistan, and China's Taiwan province are cases in point. Incidentally, the United States maintains close ties with Taiwan just as it does with independent countries.

For the United States, economic and trade relations are used to pursue its global strategy. For the U.S. ruling clique, it is important to make Pakistan, Thailand, and Taiwan help it to carry out its missions in Asia. The United States gives some petty economic favors to them. Pakistan has been dragged into an undeclared war against the Afghan people, Thailand has been used to oppose Cambodia and Laos militarily, and the Taiwan regime has been used as a tool to bring pressure to bear on China. No wonder the United States annually supplies Taiwan with arms and ammunition worth U.S.$700 million. In addition, the United States has also helped Taiwan to build a strong, modern munitions industry.

The supply of arms and ammunition also plays another important role—it can strengthen the military ruling clique in a recipient country. This will also lead to the ruthless suppression of the opposition and gross infringement on citizens' rights. South Korea is a case in point. The United States has always bet on the military in the post-war years. It has dragged high-ranking South Korean military officers into its aggressive acts in Asia, including its war of aggression against Vietnam. No Tae-u is in Washington's good graces. He was elected president by cheating.

The U.S. ruling clique believes that the military leaders in Pakistan, like those in Thailand, will be dead set on serving its new global strategy in Asia.

Republicans Grooming Kemp as VP Front-Runner

PM161301 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[S. Volovets article under the "Presidential Marathon" rubric: "Ultrarightist Among Contenders: Why Republican Congressman Jack Kemp Is Often Described as 'Reagan's Successor' in the United States"]

[Text] Yesterday saw the first real evaluation of the chances of the several candidates—Republican and Democrat—to become the 41st U.S. President. The exhausting 9-month race began on 8 February with party caucuses in Iowa. Its final results will become known, as American law pedantically points out, "on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November." But meanwhile, the seven Democrat and six Republican contenders will have to travel the whole country, shaking tens of thousands of hands, kissing babies, and handing out more generous promises than their rivals.

As distinct from the uncertainty and confusion prevailing in the Democratic contenders' camp, a firm hierachy would appear, at first glance, to have been established among the Republicans. Vice President George Bush holds first place in all the public opinion polls, followed by Senator Robert Dole, with the rest polling under 10 percent of the vote—which predetermines their withdrawal by August, when the Republican candidate is named at the party convention. Why, then, are people in the United States talking so much about Jack French Kemp, describing him as "President Reagan's natural successor"?

Here one must introduce a substantial qualification. We are not talking about the legacy of Reagan's second presidential term, in which a shift toward cooperation in the sphere of nuclear arms reductions has occupied pride of place. U.S. reactionaries of all stripes are now bluntly saying that they have suffered an act of treachery and that the President has betrayed the ideal of a strong America dictating its own and God's will to the rest of the world. As a result, more and more new ultrarightist organizations are springing up almost every day in the country, a good dozen of them having just united in a society tellingly called the Coalition for America in Its Moment of Danger. One of its organizers and leaders is the well-known reactionary Richard Viguerie, who is a friend and political supporter of Kemp. So the congressman from New York is ready to assume only part of the incumbent President's legacy; namely, the part that showed itself most graphically in the early eighties, when Washington echoed to loud tirades about the "evil empire" and nuclear disarmament was rated as being of minor import.

Kemp has showed his utter loyalty to the President over many years. Even at the height of the "Irangate" scandal, not a word of criticism was heard from him. The split came after the the second Soviet-American summit meeting, at Reykjavik. As soon as the possibility of radical nuclear arms cuts emerged, Kemp began to distance himself from the administration. Four days before the meeting, still unaware of its results, he addressed the well-known reactionary Heritage Foundation organization on the topic "Reykjavik: Realism or Detente." As we can see, the one is opposed to the other, and it should also be borne in mind that the word "detente" has had a pejorative tinge to it in the United States for more than a decade now. It is no coincidence that Kemp (although as a congressman he does not have to vote for or against ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, that being the prerogative of the Senate) is to be found among the opponents. Reluctant to make the President the target of his criticism, he has concentrated his fire on Secretary of State Shultz, whom he accuses of "weakness."

The contender's whole foreign policy program is essentially opposed to improvements in Soviet-American relations and nuclear disarmament. He advocates immediate, "off-the-shelf" deployment, so to speak, of SDI components in outer space and restraint in cutting nuclear arsenals.

In domestic policy budgetary and financial problems, which he proposes solving in the spirit of wholly traditional "Reaganism," giving maximum freedom to businessmen to make profits and thereby restricting state social programs, are his hobbyhorse. He is capable of talking about financial matters for hours, boring his listeners and simply sending them to sleep. This has won him the nickname "Professor," and his supporter Richard Viguerie, mentioned earlier, has said: "It would take brain surgery to stop him talking about financial reform." One congressman observed in this regard: "Ask Kemp how to reduce the incidence of pregnancy in adolescent girls, and he'll start talking about reducing taxes." Specialists in the election campaign organizations consider that in one way or another his endless speeches on finance are a serious drawback. Kemp's wife, Joanne, listens to his tape-recorded speeches for hours in an attempt to reduce them as much as possible.

But perhaps Kemp's most serious handicap is the fact that he is relatively little known in the country. Although the 52-year-old congressman is in his ninth term on Capitol Hill, that is to say, has been playing an active part in political life for almost 20 years, the mass voter, who obtains his information on politics and politicians from television, does not regard him as a public figure of national stature.

The Republican Party leadership, however, sees him quite differently. There Kemp is considered a star of the first magnitude or, at any rate, as the undisputed leader among conservative Republicans. Not for nothing did people at the 1980 party convention people hold up placards reading "Reagan-Kemp," proposing the latter as vice president. Four years later the placards are intended to read simply "Kemp in 1988." To the outsider, Kemp may look like a man of restricted range, not too well-educated, a superficially-minded whizkid. But his supporters see him in a different light. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations and also a supporter of the candidate, says: "I think that people do not appreciate how serious and knowledgeable Jack is. He is above ideological stereotypes."

What else has the contender got going for him? A lot. A marathon nationwide election campaign lasting many months and involving hundreds of speeches demands that you be in good physical shape, and this question is always asked about every candidate in one way or other. Before he took up politics for a living, Kemp was a professional footballer (American football, of course, is nothing like our own game, more resembling rugby). Was he good or bad? Opinions differ. In any event, when Kemp graduated from college in Los Angeles in 1957, he was immediately turned down by three NFL teams. True, the following year he was taken on by the renowned New York Giants, but he almost never got off the reserve bench there. Four years later, already an experienced defender, he moved to Buffalo, New York, where he still lives and which he represents in Congress. There he played, successfully, for the Buffalo Bills. In any event, Kemp's home is crammed with all kinds of football trophies, and his eldest son, Jeff, has followed in his father's sporting footsteps.

Kemp got involved in politics while still a pro footballer. At the end of the 1967 season, he began at the same time working in Sacramento as an aide to the newly elected governor of California, Ronald Reagan. So the definite unity of their political views goes back quite a way. Voters are also impressed by the fact that Kemp is a model family man and demonstratively religious, going to church every Sunday.

His good knowledge of the Republican Party machine also stands him in good stead. The primaries in New Hampshire come soon after the Iowa test. There the contender has already secured the backing of half the district party officials, a considerable number of the Republicans in the state legislature, the leaders of the movement for tax cuts and the freedom to possess firearms, and so forth.

Finally, there is money, a not-unimportant factor in success. His supporters have raised more than $2 million, which for this stage in the campaign is not bad at all. True, this money is all gone. But, given that people like Paul Oreffice, chairman of the board of Dow Chemical, Roger Enrico, president of Pepsi-Cola, and Wall Street financier Saul Sternberg are working on replenishing the election fund, it would appear that he won't have to stint himself particularly.

Prior to the first contests, it is difficult to make even a rough estimate of Kemp's real chances. Particularly as there are many reefs for the current favorites, George Bush and Robert Dole, to negotiate. The former has, for example, his participation in "Irangate;" the latter his disloyalty to the party bosses. People say that Kemp's time will come later. But it is very likely that Kemp will enter the Republican team this time as number two—as the vice presidential candidate. This will secure the Republican team the votes of the ultraconservatives while creating a springboard for Kemp to achieve nationwide recognition, to be used when it is decided that his time has come.

U.S. Acts Against Socialist Countries Condemned

LD190940 Moscow TASS in English
0900 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—By TASS commentator Valentin Vasilets:

Ever since socialist nations were born in Europe, sedition and provocation have been part and parcel of U.S. ruling quarters' policy towards them.

The congressional resolution on "captive nations" passed 35 years ago on February 20, 1953, is one graphic illustration of that kind of attitude to socialist nations.

The "anniversary" could have been ignored, if the resolution had remained nothing more than a historical proof of the anti-socialist sentiment of the supreme U.S. legislative authority at the time.

It is more than once or twice in congressional history that irresistible emotional outbursts on the part of lawmakers have produced documents which could later only be remembered with shame.

The 35-year-old resolution, however, has become also a kind of guide to action and the present U.S. Administration has been using it extensively.

The notorious Senator McCarthy hardly even dreamed that economic, ideological and psychological warfare against socialist nations would ever be waged with such a wide range of instruments as today.

The assortment of the tools used is impressive indeed—from special presidential proclamations to ordinary arms smuggling to subversive literature.

In between, there are also searches for criminal elements prepared to take upon themselves "political missions", financial support—mostly through the C.I.A.—for all manner of anti-socialist groups, and the organizing of "demonstrations" in "captive nations", about which (including their site and the precise opening time) their participants for some reason learn from broadcasts by the "Voice of America" and "Free Europe".

Many socialist nations in Europe know this from their own experience. In the past few years Poland was the target of a particularly active pressure campaign. Now it is the Soviet Baltic republics that have found themselves in the focus of attention.

The three and a half decades have proved too little time for them in the United States to realize at long last that socialist nations, just like other countries, develop according to their own laws. Likewise, relations between socialist nations change according to their own inner needs as well.

What do provocation and sedition mean in politics? Nothing other than insulting meddling in the affairs of sovereign countries, which can only strain relations and cannot by any manner of means be conducive to lower international tension or stronger trust and closer cooperation among nations.

State Department Human Rights Report Criticized
LD111851 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—TASS news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The U.S. Department of State sent to the Congress another annual "Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1987". Just as in the previous years, one of the lengthiest articles of the report tendentiously treats the state of affairs in this sphere in the USSR and in other socialist countries.

There can be different attitude to the report of the U.S. foreign policy department. One might quote pronouncements of members of the Swiss sections of the International Helsinki Human Rights Committee who gave a press-conference in Berne upon the return from the USSR. At the press-conference they said that they had been given clear answers to virtually all questions in Moscow. They are of the opinion that a movement toward democratization is really taking place in the USSR and the wish is apparent to carry through the undertaking started.

Indeed, the report, just as the previous such documents, is extremely tendentious. But it can hardly be expected that its authors will ever start praising our system and our ways.

Another matter prompts a legitimate question. The State Department report deals with extreme caution with the "complexity of the situation" in the area of human rights in Israel-occupied Arab lands. The reports lumps together Paraguay and Haiti. Chile and socialist countries. But it makes not the slightest mention of the complexity of the situation in the area of human rights in West European countries that are partners of the United States and are closest to it in spirit and all other aspects.

Take Great Britain. A veritable war on the Ulster population has been waged there for decades. The people of Ulster demand fundamental human rights. Their death toll has run into hundreds. Or take the case of "Birmingham-Six". Matters went so far that more than 130 British MPs demanded the other day that an independent judiciary commission be formed for an urgent additional investigation of that case. Ever new irrefutable facts of gross police arbitrariness and violation of legality during investigation come to light. As a result of that the court sentenced 13 years ago to life imprisonment a group of Britons of the Irish descent for setting off explosions in Birmingham. Democratic organizations of Britain analysing this case declare that these persons had nothing to do with the explosions.

A centralized system of electronic files of 52 million Britons planned by the British Government is nothing else but the violation of civil rights. Jurists in London state outright that such a "bank of information" can be

used by the secret services for surveillance, for screening large numbers of the British population for "loyalty" and for preventing or suppressing any dissent.

U.S., Soviet Firms Pioneer Software Project

PM171537 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 p 3

[Special correspondent A. Zaytsev dispatch under the "International Life" rubric: "'Ralex' Sets an Example"]

[Text] A protocol was recently signed in Krylatskoye concerning the intention to set up a joint Soviet-U.S. enterprise. This is the first document of its kind since the adoption of the appropriate legislation in our country.

"Ralex International" (president—A. Russinov) and "Takt"—a cooperative of specialists in servicing and compiling personal computer programs and also in instruction on how to use them (chairman—G. Bukharov)—were the pioneers. Formed 3 months ago, "Takt" was the first cooperative to embark independently on foreign economic ties. Thus the event is really imbued with dual significance.

The partners may be said to have been fortunate to have found one another. "Soon after the cooperative's formation we encountered a shortage of components for imported computers," G. Bukharov told us, sharing his problems. "Because of this we had to refuse our services to many potential clients. Yet the numbers of computer owners and users are ever-increasing. Moving into foreign markets would resolve the problem. They have also begun to look for this."

A case for seeking it out was not long in coming. Hearing about "Takt" and its difficulties from a newspaper article, the leaders of "Ralex" included a visit to the cooperative in the program of their trip to Moscow.

The firm, its president says, was founded a year ago specially to organize business ties with the Soviet Union on the crest of the growing U.S interest in the possibilities which restructuring is opening up for economic cooperation. However, it is a long way from interest to practical steps. U.S. businessmen's definite inertia in thinking with regard to the USSR is taking its toll, as are a lack of information and a commitment to "wait and see" tactics.

"We decided to take the first step because we see the seriousness and inevitability of our foreign economic restructuring and we want to show that business can be conducted successfully in this country. The best confirmation of this is the agreement with 'Takt' secured literally in a matter of days. This fact speaks for itself against the backdrop of talks lasting years between U.S. companies and Soviet organizations."

The plan for cooperation between the participants in the project is simple. As its contribution to the joint enterprise "Ralex" will supply electronic equipment with all the components and will then undertake to provide "Takt" with orders to write computer programs for their U.S. clients. The cooperative fulfills the targets and the firm guarantees the sale of the joint product and the receipt of currency profit, which will be divided in accordance with the shares in the corporation capital. Thus, the Soviet participant gets access to the U.S. market with state-of-the-art output which is not counted as an import. It is of no small significance that the same equipment and programs can also be used by Soviet clients.

"Ralex" staffers have carried out extensive market research in the United States. The demand for software packages is now very extensive. According to forecasts it will grow rapidly as computerization encompasses more and more areas of business, including gasoline pumps, hairdressing, and small-scale trade. The standard of Soviet program developments is rated very highly in the West. All this promises the joint enterprise a practically unlimited market for sales.

In order to safeguard against potential embargos in the event of political complications, a "Ralex" branch has been set up in the FRG through which the firm will be able to do business with its Soviet partner at pre-existing volumes and under preset conditions.

"Ralex" is prepared to cooperate with other Soviet organizations on analogous principles. Not only, moreover, in the sphere of computerization. The firm jointly owns a number of U.S. companies and participates in many spheres of business. Its leaders have brought to the USSR more than 20 projects and dozens of letters from companies carrying propositions for cooperation. Successful talks have been held on a number of them.

An accord has been secured with the Latvian Academy of Sciences on the production of minicomputers using Western components. An accord has been secured with the Latvian Ministry of Health on the joint development of medical equipment. The possibility of manufacturing at Gosstroy enterprises single-apartment mobile homes using Soviet construction materials and U.S. equipment is being explored. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has presented a project for the production of packing materials and shavings.

At all events the stress is being laid on the creation of joint enterprises as the most effective form of cooperation and the production in the USSR of high-technology output capable of competing with Western output, replacing imports, and earning currency. Even so "Ralex wants to be not only an intermediary and consultant but also a participant in the projects, investing capital in them.

"Only then will we be able to play the role of a catalyst firm, which is very necessary for a qualitative change in economic relations between our countries," A. Russinov believes. "Almost all U.S. businessmen realize the need to cooperate with the USSR, but few of them know how. We have already studied a vast quantity of materials on the Soviet economy, finances, and trade and have analyzed both the successful and also the unsuccessful experience of cooperation between the West and the Soviet Union. In knowing both systems and directly participating in projects, "Ralex" is ready to take responsibility for the success of joint undertakings.

Briefs

Book on CIA

Correspondent Aleksandr Shashkov, speaking in the "120 Minutes" program, announced the publication by the Political Literature Publishers of a book entitled "Army of the Night," dealing with "40 years of crimes committed by the CIA." Of the long list of "crimes" perpetuated by the CIA are the killing of Indira Gandhi, Olof Palme, and the attempted assassination of the Pope. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Feb 88 OW*]

China

USSR Reported 'Ready' for Relations With China

AU191315 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Feb 88 p 4

[Interview with Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, by Atanas Atanasov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Moscow: "Mutual Good Will and Good-Neighborly Relations"; date not given]

[Text] [Atanasov] Igor Rogachev, who is 55 years old, spent 15 years of his life in China, where he lived and worked. He spent 6 years of his childhood in that country, and later returned twice on diplomatic missions. We should also add 4 years of work as a diplomat in the United States, where American-Chinese relations were his special field of work.... It is hardly necessary, after this introduction, to name the subject of my interview with him.

[Rogachev] In describing Soviet-Chinese relations I would point out, first, the atmosphere of mutual good will that has been established. The understanding that it is necessary and possible to constantly improve these relations has developed in both countries. This fact is specifically confirmed by the following events: For the first time in the last decades, a Chinese journal asked the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for an interview. I must also point out that the Chinese edition of a book by M.S. Gorbachev on restructuring and new political thinking is about to be published. On the other hand, the Russian translation of Deng Xiaoping's book "Basic Issue of Contemporary China" was published in January 1988. The Soviet journal KOMMUNIST published the text of the report read by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, to the 13th CPC Congress. We consider all this as a positive sign confirming a substantial progress in our relations with China.

[Atanasov] The dynamic development of Soviet-Chinese relations in the economic, scientific, and technical sectors in recent years is impressive. What are the prospects for the future development of this cooperation and what difficulties have to be overcome in this respect?

[Rogachev] As a matter of fact, trade-economic, and scientific-technical relations between the Soviet Union and China are being actively developed on the basis of long-term agreements. The 1988 protocol envisages a volume amounting to R1.8 billion, which is 10 times more than the amount at the beginning of the eighties and represents 30 percent more than the commodity turnover in 1987.

We must admit that in 1987 our trade with China diminished compared with 1986. The Soviet organizations failed to provide some of the goods that were ordered, while a more limited quantity of certain commodities (primarily machines and equipment) were ordered by the Chinese side. Another reason for a reduction in Soviet-Chinese trade exchange was the fall in prices on the world market. It is envisaged for the USSR to deliver power supply equipment, railroad transportation equipment, automobiles, aircraft equipment, chemical fertilizers, metals, and other things to the PRC. The PRC, in turn, will supply the Soviet Union with various light industry and textile goods, machine building products, some raw materials, and agricultural goods.

[Atanasov] It is a well-known fact that the prospects for Soviet-Chinese trade are promising. What is the contribution of progressive forms of cooperation to this development?

[Rogachev] In their aspiration to further expand their economic relations, the two countries are devoting increasing attention to the sharing of production, to the establishment of joint enterprises on the territories of the two countries. There are also great reserves in the development of direct trade-economic links between republics, oblasts, and USSR ministries and enterprises in the Soviet Union and Chinese provinces, autonomous regions, and cities. The Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation is about to conclude preparations for respective intergovernmental agreements. The mutual interest in the exchange of experience in socialist construction, including the sphere of economic reform, is also growing.

[Atanasov] What stage have the agreements on Soviet participation in the modernization of industrial enterprises, built on Chinese territory with Soviet equipment and assistance, reached?

[Rogachev] An intergovernmental agreement on economic and technical assistance by the USSR for the reconstruction and modernization of existing and new industrial enterprises in the PRC was signed in 1985. In 1988 it is envisaged to work on 30 installations in the fields of the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical industry, machine building, chemical, and light industry. The volume of this cooperation will increase 2.5 times as compared with 1987.

[Atanasov] What about the development of political relations between China and the USSR?

[Rogachev] Soviet-Chinese relations have developed considerably in recent years, they are becoming increasingly active and meaningful. Regular meetings are taking place between the USSR and Chinese ministers of foreign affairs during the UN General Assembly sessions in New York. The exchange of visits at the level of deputy premiers continues. The fact that the Soviet Union and China have close and similar stands on a number of important, topical problems—such as disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, questions of banning and eliminating chemical weapons, halting the Iran-Iraq conflict, supporting the initiative of the DPRK for eliminating tension in the Korean peninsula—evokes satisfaction.

The regular Soviet-Chinese political consultations on questions of normalizing bilateral relations are of great importance. They confirm the need for our two countries to discuss all problems concerning them, including crucial and controversial problems. In 1987 the Soviet-Chinese border negotiations started in a favorable atmosphere.

[Atanasov] What can you say about the future prospects of restoring interparty relations between the CPSU and the CPC? Can we expect a Soviet-Chinese summit in the near future?

[Rogachev] As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his interview for the Chinese journal LIAOWANG, a Soviet-Chinese summit would be the logical continuation of the political dialogue. As it becomes evident, the objective need for such a meeting is felt on both sides. In our opinion such a meeting could take place in Moscow, Beijing, or any other convenient place.

As to the question of future prospects in connection with restoring CPSU-CPC relations, I can say that we in the Soviet Union are ready to develop relations and contacts in all areas, including relations between our two parties. Naturally, in this connection we accept the level of readiness on the Chinese side.

[Atanasov] Whenever a Chinese-Soviet summit meeting is mentioned in the PRC people usually talk about the "three obstacles"....

[Rogachev] It is sometimes stated in China that the questions of Cambodia and Afghanistan represent obstacles to the improvement of relations and to a summit meeting. The Soviet Union does not think in categories of "obstacles." We have confirmed on several occasions, in talking to our Chinese comrades, that we are ready to discuss all questions they are concerned about, including regional conflicts.

[Atanasov] What is being accomplished, in particular, and what has been achieved in this respect?

[Rogachev] As you know, the Soviet Union most actively participates in the solution of the conflicting situation around Afghanistan, as well as in the efforts to resolve the Cambodian question. In addition to this, we base ourselves on the principle to seek for political solutions in settling regional conflicts, so as to be able to eliminate hotbeds on our planet. Real and promising opportunities have now emerged for a settlement of the Afghanistan issue. A certain progress has been achieved on the question of Cambodia. It is very important now to avoid obstacles in this dialogue. Judging from everything, it seems that people in China today also begin to take into account the progress that is being observed in connection with Afghanistan and Indochina.

Rogachev Meets PRC Border Photography Experts

PM160909 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting of Experts"]

[Text] A meeting of Soviet and Chinese experts examining and coordinating questions of the joint aerial photography of the eastern section of the USSR-PRC border was held in Moscow 1-10 February as part of the Soviet-Chinese border talks.

At the end of this work, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister and head of the Soviet representative delegation at the border talks, had a conversation with experts from both sides. Yu. Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

PRC Border Expert Talks 'Quiet, Earnest'

OW070559 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Station observer Ivanov commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: The first meeting of the working group under the Soviet and Chinese government delegations for border negotiations took place in Moscow. The negotiations are important parts in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. Ivanov, an observer of this station, writes:

Making a speech in Vladivostok in the summer of 1986, Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a special reference to Soviet-Chinese relations. He maintained that Soviet-Chinese relations are important for many reasons, primarily because we are neighbors sharing the longest border in the world, and our children and grandchildren will have to live as neighbors for generations to come. Then the Soviet leader expressed the hope that in the not-too-distant future, the border which separates us—or brings us together—will become a line of peace and friendship.

It is true that the border between our two countries is 7,500 km long. Because of historical and other reasons, not all parts of the border have been determined or fully ascertained. To settle all existing issues, the two countries reached an accord on resuming their border talks during the 9th round of the Soviet-Chinese political consultative conference held in Beijing in early October 1986. The first and second rounds of talks were held in Moscow and Beijing in February and August 1987. The head of the Soviet delegation was Rogachev, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs; the head of the Chinese delegation was Qian Qichen, Chinese deputy foreign minister [words indistinct].

Owing to the series of complex technical issues appearing in the course of the talks, the two sides decided to set up an expert group, and authorized it to examine in detail the eastern border. The issues were specifically what have just been discussed in the first round of meeting in Moscow. The meeting proceeded in a quiet and earnest atmosphere. The next meeting will be held in Beijing in April.

People in the USSR and China can see with satisfaction the unhampered start of the talks on Soviet-Chinese border issues. I support the view expressed by BAN YUE TAN, a Chinese periodical. It says: The settlement of Soviet-Chinese border issues is in the fundamental interest of the Soviet and Chinese people, and it will have positive effects on the two countries' reforms and construction. China and the USSR are neighbors sharing the same mountains and rivers. The improvement of relations and tranquility in the border areas will enable us to dedicate even greater efforts to economic construction.

CPC's Zhao Rejects 'Outmoded' Thinking

PM161041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Zhao Ziyang's Article"]

[Text] Beijing, 8 Feb—"The emancipation of the consciousness" and the struggle against an outmoded world outlook will enable Chinese working people to secure considerable results in the implementation of reforms and the policy of expanding ties with the outside world. Only this means of studying the decisions of the 13th CPC Congress can produce real results and play its positive role, an article published here by CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang says.

While indicating the need to "emancipate the consciousness", the CPC leader referred to the experience of the 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th Convocation (1978), which initiated the implementation of many reforms in China.

Modern forms of production organization even emerged in a number of PRC regions in the early sixties. However, under the influence of the incorrect ideological line, they were rejected as "revisionist" phenomena. After 1978 the attitude to these forms of production organization changed. However, even then, the CPC Central Committee general secretary pointed out, the Chinese leadership did not immediately circulate this experience throughout the country.

The provision put forward by the 13th CPC Congress to the effect that China is in the initial phase of building socialism must be a new starting point for the further "emancipation of the consciousness." Our socialism, the CPC Central Committee general secretary stressed, is scientific socialism, which is continuously enriched and developed.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Begins Military Exercise in Philippines

LD190910 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Manila February 19 TASS—The United States today started a military exercise in Pampanga Province, the Philippines, in the area of a major U.S. Air Force base, Clark Field.

Apart from the U.S. military equipment stationed in the Philippines, the exercise involves combat aircraft from U.S. bases in Japan and South Korea.

SRV Press Plays Active Role in Reform Process

PM190835 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Domogatskikh dispatch: "Renewal. Life of Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Hanoi—In the middle of last year, the newspaper NHAN DAN published a short article under the rubric "This Should Be Done Immediately." It dealt unusually sharply with shortcomings in the work to fulfill the party resolutions aimed at stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the country and the need to bring order to the disorganized system of distribution and commodity-money turnover, and pointed up major mistakes in trading policy and the poor activeness of the mass media

in the struggle against violations of socialist legality and the other negative phenomena that appeared in society in the period of stagnation. The initials N.V.L. appeared instead of a signature.

"This article," Vietnamese comrades told me, "made a great impression—it was as if a block of stone had been thrown into a stagnant swamp."

The situation in the country had been described painfully but correctly in words which rocked society. Working people greeted them with satisfaction: It is precisely the way to reveal shortcomings and openly discuss mistakes. They saw it as precisely the way to fulfill the sixth party congress' decisions on developing criticism and self-criticism. It immediately became known that the article was penned by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee.

True, during a meeting with voters, when he was asked to explain the signature under these very acute and necessary articles, Nguyen Van Linh replied with a smile: "It's very simple. N.V.L. means 'noi va lam'"—that is, the Vietnamese for "say and do."

It may be a joke, but, as they say, many a true word is spoken in jest. Now principled attention is devoted to each "This Should Be Done Immediately" article, measures are taken, and ways are outlined for rectifying shortcomings. It can now be said that with the appearance of this new rubric, NHAN DAN has opened a new page in the history of the Vietnamese press. The organ of the CPV Central Committee has actively entered the struggle against negative phenomena, supporting the burgeoning process of the renewal of the life of the party, society, and the country.

"The critical press articles," Ha Dang, chief editor of NHAN DAN, said, "have been an example of the assertion of openness and the utilization of the force of party journalism in the interests of renewal and restructuring. And in this respect we take our cue from the Soviet press. You can see how much we have to read and examine," he pointed to a pile of newspapers and magazines from the USSR. "Our press has switched from general phrases and appeals to constructive participation in restructuring. Journalists and stringers are now no longer just recording shortcomings in the sphere of the economy and social life but are making specific criticisms and naming those who should bear personal responsibility for poor work or violations of the law."

The attitude in the republic to criticism of party, state, and economic leaders has changed. Of course, there are still many cases when—as NHAN DAN put it—critical remarks are met with a "threatening silence" or concealed persecution of criticism even begins. There are also formal replies. But the party Central Committee and the supreme organs of power are taking measures to ensure that openness, criticism from below, and articles revealing violations of the law and the norms of socialist communal life should not remain a voice in the wilderness.

The resolution of the sixth party congress to "boldly look truth in the eye and tell the people the truth" has eliminated any no-go areas for criticism. Criticism, the decisions of the post-congress CPV Central Committee plenums noted, will help to avoid stagnant and negative phenomena, to strengthen the combativeness of party organizations, and to secure the struggle to observe state, labor, and technological discipline. In supporting criticism and self-criticism, publicizing everything that hampers the country's development, and getting rid of people who have embarked on the path of renewal [as published], the party is striving not only to restructure the economy, but to shape new thinking and a sense of responsible stewardship among those building the foundations of socialism.

The Vietnamese press is currently helping the party to solve tasks of strategic significance for the country's future. The spotlight has turned to three major programs ratified by the congress—increasing production of food, consumer goods, and exports. This subject takes pride of place in NHAN DAN.

Unlike what it did in the past, the newspaper is now monitoring its criticisms. "After a reminder in the shape of a letter from the editorial bureau or an article in the paper," Comrade Ha Dang said, "we usually receive an extensive resolution about the measures taken by party or economic organs on the basis of the critical articles."

Thus, the critical NHAN DAN article about lack of attention to social questions in the life of miners produced an extensive response not only among miners—who had, it seemed, initially gone "unnoticed" by the provincial party committee—but, after a reminder from the editorial bureau, also produced profound conclusions and specific measures for changing the situation.

At the same time, the newspaper does not only criticize shortcomings, it also seeks out new shoots and positive examples of restructuring and renewal. The article "New Elements of Economic Management," for instance, dealt in detail with the experience of the work of a textile combine in the city of Nam Dinh in introducing economic accountability and self-financing. This experience is now being extensively studied.

NHAN DAN, other party newspapers, and the journal KOMMUNIST [probably translation of TAP CHI CONG SAN] are doing great work to publicize the life of party organizations. After the CPV Central Committee Politburo September (1987) resolution on the cleansing of party ranks, the improvement of the combativeness of party organizations and the state apparatus, and the

enhancement of social relations, the press has become more attentive to primary party organizations and their role in the great work of restructuring.

The appearance of Vietnamese newspapers has changed since the Sixth CPV Congress. One newspaper published the following reader's letter: "I sometimes cannot believe that I'm reading the same papers as 2 or 3 years ago. They have become trenchant and bold, and criticize the guilty, irrespective of their posts or former authority. That is the only way to renew our thinking and our lives and to overcome the phenomena that have long prevented us from making progress."

"Regrettably," the chief editor of NHAN DAN said, "we still miss a great deal, fail to notice things, and are not sufficiently persistent in combating shortcomings and negative phenomena. But we will do everything to be at the forefront of the struggle for the course defined by the party in the resolutions of the Sixth CPV Congress."

SRV Journalist Discusses Soviet TV Assistance

BK170557 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Statement by journalist Do Van Hong of Vietnam Central Television; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] We are very happy that the comrade vice chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting recently visited Vietnam and signed an agreement with the Vietnam Television and the Voice of Vietnam under which the Soviet Union will create favorable conditions for the development of our Vietnamese television service.

During our current working visit, we have received wholehearted assistance from the comrades of Soviet Television. We have been provided with various programs and even technical facilities that will create favorable conditions for us to train cadres for our service. Recently, we had the opportunity to meet and work with the comrades of Soviet Television, who also reserved for us extremely favorable conditions in choosing shows to further enrich Vietnam Television's programs. Most recently, the Vietnam-USSR television link achieved very good results, marking another technical development in our service. Through this link, we Vietnamese are very happy to clearly see the friendly sentiments of the Soviet people.

Under the agreement already signed, in the near future our Soviet comrades will help Vietnam build a color television broadcasting center. This will be one of the largest of its kind ever built with Soviet assistance outside the Soviet Union. We Vietnamese are extremely happy with this project and believe that it will surely help open up extremely fine prospects for the relations of cooperation between the Vietnamese and Soviet television services.

In our current visit, we have also received assistance from the comrades of Sovetsportfilm, who have made it possible for our delegation to receive a fairly large quantity of feature and documentary films, including scientific motion pictures. This is a development that will further enrich and improve Vietnam Television's programming.

It can be said that to a very large extent, Vietnam Television owes its technical development—this is the first time we have broadcast in color—and the constant improvement of its program contents to the assistance of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. On behalf of Vietnamese television workers, we would like once again to express our great happiness and gratitude to the Soviet comrades for their wholehearted cooperation in implementing the various programs, as well as for their assistance in technical development and cadre training.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Rebels 'Attempt' To Hit Cordovez Plane

PM191225 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Okulov: "Missile 'Arguments'"]

[Text] Kabul, 17 Feb—Citing competent Afghan sources, BAKHTAR Agency has reported that an armed group of opponents of state power belonging to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" has used antiaircraft missiles in an attempt to shoot down the aircraft in which D. Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, was flying from Islamabad for consultations in Kabul.

Such was the peculiar response from Afghan counterrevolutionary circles to the peace mission by D. Cordovez, who has made considerable efforts to achieve success at the forthcoming Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. Yes, some of them, on hearing the word "conciliation," immediately seize missiles. Armed with U.S. "Stingers" and British "Blowpipes," the extremists have been committing a considerable amount of piracy in the Afghan sky. A little over 200 civilian passengers have become victims of their missiles.

The forthcoming Afghan-Pakistani talks demand that all sides involved in the conflict clearly define their positions. It must be noted that the policy of the leaders of the Afghan rebel groups entrenched in Peshawar is not marked by realism, to put it mildly. According to evidence from the Western mass media, they intend to continue the war right up to the creation of a "provisional Islamic government."

The "Peshawar men," blinded by their desire for total power, are thus seeking to continue the bloodshed counter to the interests of the Afghan people. To all

appearances, they are afraid of a settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem and are putting their own "arguments" into circulation to prevent it.

Pakistan Intends To 'Wreck' Afghan Settlement

LD172134 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] According to a report by UPI, Zain Noorani, Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, is now holding talks on the Afghan problem in Washington. In this connection the Western mass information services are quoting his statements in an interview with a BBC correspondent. They show that Islamabad's official representative attempted to make the replacement of the regime in Kabul a necessary condition for an agreement at the forthcoming Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva

[Begin Andrianov recording] It is not fortuitous that in the West, they jumped at the abovementioned interview that the Pakistani minister made 3 days ago on the eve of his departure for Washington. After all, it is precisely Zain Noorani who will head Pakistan's delegation at the Afghan-Pakistani talks which open on 2 March in Geneva. For this reason it is believed that, talking to the BBC correspondent, he set out Islamabad's official view as to how one can bring the Geneva process to a positive end. How does the Pakistani minister argue his point? What specific arguments does he adduce?

According to Zain Noorani, the creation of conditions favorable for the return of Afghan refugees must now become a key provision of the Geneva agreement. And the present Afghan government is allegedly unable to ensure such conditions and, therefore, allegedly incapable of implementing the Geneva agreement. It is on such an absolutely groundless assertion that the Islamabad position is based. It states that prior to implementation of the Geneva agreement it is allegedly essential to change the Kabul regime.

This position is, to put it mildly, more than strange. And not only because it is devoid of any specific foundation. It is appropriate to remind Islamabad that over the course of many years it attempted to convince everyone that the Afghan refugee problem arose in connection with the introduction into this country of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. If one is to believe the Pakistani politicians, it turns out that this is what gave rise to the Afghan refugee problem. But what do we hear now?

The Soviet Union put forward a program for reaching the quickest possible just political solution to the conflict. To this end it proposed to begin withdrawing its troops from Afghan territory within a time frame acceptable to all, starting 15 May, on the condition, of course, that an agreement on a settlement is signed in Geneva no later than 15 March.

It turns out that once the withdrawal of Soviet troops begins, the cause which Islamabad so long and so persistently called the root of the Afghan refugee problem will disappear. Elementary logic says that when a cause is removed, the same thing happens to the consequence. Thus, the refugees who are in Pakistan will be able to return home if, of course, they will not be hindered in doing so by the Pakistani authorities themselves, which happens to this very day. In light of this, what additional conditions are required to solve the refugee problem? What is Islamabad trying to achieve?

One gets the impression that now, when real possibilities of quickly settling the Afghan problem by political means have opened up, the Pakistani leadership is resorting to new subterfuges to create difficulties in signing the Geneva documents.

The attempts by Islamabad and its supporters to deviate from completing the Geneva talks amount to an intent to wreck a settlement in Afghanistan. [end recording]

Afghan Left-Wing Parties Support Soviet Policy

LD191140 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 19 TASS—The Planning Council of the Alliance of Afghan Left-Wing Democratic Parties has held a meeting here and adopted a document on the statements on Afghanistan made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Afghan President Najibullah.

The document said the alliance holds a clear-cut and firm stand on a settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan, is for solving the problem by peaceful political means, and will do everything towards this end.

In the opinion of the parties making up the alliance, a settlement can be achieved if the following conditions are observed:

- An end to outside interference and guarantees of its non-resumption,

- An end to bloodletting, the return of refugees, and the ensuring of a calm and secure life for all citizens, irrespective of their membership in various military or political organizations,

- The creation of conditions for the return of Soviet troops home.

The joint document hailed the statements by Gorbachev and Najibullah as a courageous and responsible step reflecting the objective situation in this country and around it and as testifying to the sincerity and good will of the leaderships of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan with regard to the complex problems of this country and the region.

The alliance of left-wing democratic parties fully supported the specific plan set forth in the statements, which provides for peaceful conditions for development and defines the future position of Afghanistan in the world.

The alliance expressed profound gratitude to the USSR for its all-round assistance given to this country over many years. The document said the Afghan people treasure this traditional friendship and will not allow anybody to undermine the historical relations of good neighborliness and mutual respect existing between the two countries.

The alliance declared gratitude to the Soviet Union for its support for the national reconciliation policy and expressed readiness to pursue this course till a complete triumph of the cause of reconciliation.

The alliance urged all political forces inside and outside the country not to pass up the historic chance, and take part in delivering the Afghan people from the bloodshed.

The Afghan people, the document said, will be able to determine their destiny themselves, without any interference from abroad.

TV Shows Soldiers Decorated for Afghan Service

LD182358 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Opening video shows cultivated fields as seen from the window of a helicopter. Lines of Soviet serviceman wearing combat helmets and bearing rifles are then shown on parade.] [Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] These servicemen who are now lined up with their standard were not at the disposal of their own units for almost 2 months. They were fulfilling a complex and responsible task. Combat awards of the homeland speak of the fact that the task was carried out courageously and honorably.

Perhaps quite soon now, in the spring or at the beginning of the summer, when the period of service of these serviceman is over, you may encounter one of them in civilian dress with an order or a medal on his chest. You will know that the awards testify to devotion to duty displayed while fighting in high mountain passes and along narrow paths, amid continuous minefields during the difficult days and nights of "Operation Main Route."

What is the distinctive feature of this operation from the viewpoint of you road sappers?

[Unidentified soldier] It has been a very difficult operation indeed with respect to mines. I cannot say anything else. It was very difficult.

[Leshchinskiy] As you have, indeed, already said. [video shows Leshchinskiy interviewing a Soviet soldier standing near a tank bearing the number 902]

The columns of trucks are proceeding toward Khowst all the time. They are proceeding along the main road that the inhabitants of this border district and town have dubbed the Road of Life. Our soldiers assisted in the opening of this road! [video shows brief shots of trucks, including a tanker, passing through a populated area, with inhabitants waving to the vehicles]

Egypt's Mubarak Receives Gorbachev Message

LD191138 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Cairo February 19 TASS—Vladimir Polyakov, special envoy of the Soviet leadership, was received by President Husni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE) to whom he delivered Mikhail Gorbachev's oral message dealing with matters concerning a settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

The Egyptian president welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, referring to it as a bold step. He spoke out in favour of achieving a political solution to the Afghan problem as soon as possible and declared for national reconciliation in that country.

The situation in the Middle East and prospects for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict were also discussed in detail during the meeting.

President Mubarak stated that the days of Camp-David-type deals had gone, and that only a comprehensive settlement of the conflict would ensure the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East. The way to what is to convene an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned and five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

Vladimir Polyakov was also received by Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister, minister of state for foreign affairs, and had a conversation with Usamah al-Baz, first deputy minister of the foreign affairs, head of the president's political office.

Tunisian Foreign Minister Receives Envoy

LD191114 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Tunis February 19 TASS—Tunisian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Mestiri has received Mikhail Sytenko, a representative of the Soviet leadership.

During the meeting they discussed the issues of defusing regional conflicts, primarily the situation in Afghanistan and around it. Special attention was paid to the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan.

An exchange of opinions was held also on a number of international problems and Soviet-Tunisian relations.

Both sides stressed a desire to strengthen friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and Tunisia.

Support Expressed for UN Gulf Peace Force

LD181831 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Our commentator Aleksey Zlatorunskiy answers a question from an Egyptian listener, Muhammad Mustafa al-Ghurbali, who asks: Why does the Soviet Union not guarantee security in the Gulf, like the United States, and what are Washington's objective in this region? These are interesting questions, especially as other Radio Moscow listeners ask such questions every now and then.

First, we will talk about security. Official Washington exploited this pretext to increase its military presence in the Gulf, and sent a fleet of warships, keeping in mind the fact that the U.S. media, as well as other media, have striven to convince public opinion that the U.S. fleet is a remedy for all ills. Thus security of navigation in the Gulf would be guaranteed with its arrival in the Gulf and new opportunities to halt the Iraq-Iran war would emerge. But what did happen in fact? Tankers and merchant shipping are still being attacked and the war between Iraq and Iran continues. At the same time, the danger of the armed conflict widening and participation by other countries in the region has greatly increased. Why did the United States send its navy to the Gulf? Only so that events there would develop in the direction desired by the United States and also to enable the United States to use the armored fist at any time in order to consolidate Washington's political efforts, which are directed, as is known, at gaining absolute control in the region at any cost, including changing by force those regimes which refuse to act in accordance with Washington's advice.

And now we will talk about the Soviet Union's attitude. The Soviet Union firmly believes that the presence of foreign fleets in the Gulf is unnecessary—neither the United States, nor the Soviet, nor the French fleets, nor the fleets of other countries which are not from the region. And if there is a need for the presence of a naval fleet in the region, it should be a UN fleet, to defend peace and not to serve the interests of a certain country. By the way, this Soviet proposal has found wide support in many countries, including the Arab countries.

The Soviet Union is also making great political efforts, using political channels, international organizations, and bilateral meetings. And the objective of this work is primarily to halt the war between Iraq and Iran and to solve the disputed matters within the context of political talks.

Then our commentator said: I want to point out, Muhammad Mustafa al-Ghurbali, that such actions are now bringing certain positive results. And if the senseless Iraq-Iran war is halted soon, I believe that this will be a great victory for common sense—the victory desired by all Arab countries. And I shall be grateful if you will write and tell me that my answer has satisfied you.

Rear Admiral Details Warships' Gulf Role

PM181113 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Feb 88 p 3

[Interview with Rear Admiral V.N. Sergeyev by V. Belykh and V. Likin under the rubric "Reporting the Details": "Convoy"; first two paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] Our newspaper has already written about the "tanker war" in the Persian Gulf. Alarming reports come with depressing frequency about shellings by launches and the mining of peaceful vessels flying a variety of different flags. According to reports from foreign agencies, from May 1981 through the end of last year, at least 425 unarmed merchant ships were attacked.

In this tense atmosphere, a number of USSR Navy ships have been brought here to ensure the safety of Soviet merchant transport passing through the Gulf. Rear Admiral V.N. Sergeyev, commander of the Soviet warships in the Indian Ocean, answers TRUD correspondents' questions.

[Correspondents] Valeriy Nikolayevich, how long have Soviet warships been in the Gulf?

[Sergeyev] In September 1986 an Iranian warship fired at the Soviet vessel "Petr Yeltsov," whereupon our government protested to Iran and Soviet warships were sent to the Persian Gulf. Now the destroyer "Stoykiy," the large ASW ship "Admiral Tributs," the minesweeper "Turbinist," and also a number of auxiliary vessels are in the Gulf. These forces are quite sufficient. There is no other aim than to escort ships. In contrast to the U.S., French, British, Italian, Belgian, and Dutch Navies, which have sent dozens of warships here....

[Correspondents] Do the Navy ships encounter NATO ships? Is there any cooperation with them?

[Sergeyev] They often encounter them, but there is no cooperation whatsoever. They are escorting Kuwaiti tankers under the U.S. flag. Moreover, there are enough forces for more than one convoy. This is an obvious show of strength, a deliberate whipping up of tension. Moreover, in navigational terms the Persian Gulf is unbelievably complicated: reefs, sandbanks, and a mass of oilrigs. Now there is the danger of mines. Shipping moves only along strictly recommended fairways where there are a number of warships. The NATO naval forces

have announced that the so-called self-defense zones have been increased from 9 to 15 km. Anyone who happens to be in this zone when a convoy is being escorted can be fired upon.

[Correspondents] Mistakes are likely in such a situation.

[Sergeyev] They have already occurred. A U.S. destroyer captain mistook some wooden fishing boats from the UAE for Iranian combat launches and gave the order to open fire. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

[Correspondents] Where, in your opinion, is the most dangerous place in the Persian Gulf?

[Sergeyev] The Strait of Hormuz—the passage between Oman and Iran. There are a lot of islands there, which the combat launches habitually use as cover for their regular attacks. The launches, in essence, are light duralumin boats with two ultramodern outboard motors. They can travel at speeds of up to 80-90 km an hour. Add to this the mist which hangs almost permanently over the water, and you have the explanation for the surprise element in the pirate raids.

They come out shooting at unescorted tankers or freighters at point-blank range. Shaped-charge rocket projectiles pierce the sides, entering fuel tanks and engine room. Fires break out. The crew abandons the sinking vessel. All those who can, rescue people....

[Correspondents] Have our ships ever received a distress signal?

[Sergeyev] Last November they were escorting another convoy. They heard an SOS from a Greek tanker which had been fired on. One of our ships went toward it at full speed. They were in sight when the tanker's captain made contact, thanked us, and said that helicopters had already taken off the crew. The tanker itself sank with 192,000 tonnes of petroleum.

[Correspondents] The ships which we escort.... What are they carrying, where from and where to?

[Sergeyev] At Kuwait's request, our government has assigned several vessels to transport petroleum and petroleum products. Now the tankers "Groznyy," "Pobeda," and "General Tyulenev" are operating in this region. They are modern, and have a displacement of up to 100,000 tonnes. Other Soviet vessels with cargoes for different countries join the caravan. Usually there are up to five nonmilitary ships to be defended against attacks in the most dangerous areas. Chance companions also join up—not all states have the possibility of providing their tankers and freighters with military escorts. And so they try to follow our convoys, but at a distance.

[Correspondents] What happens if there is an attack on those at your rear? What will the naval commanders do then?

[Sergeyev] They are in a region where combat operations are going on and their mission is strictly defined—escorting and protecting Soviet shipping. They cannot leave their ships to the mercy of fate. But they are always ready to give assistance to those in distress.

[Correspondents] What did you experience when you were in the Persian Gulf?

[Sergeyev] I was there more than once before the conflict situation developed. I remember the times when we went to both Iran and Iraq on friendly visits. Of course, it was unusual at that time to go there to fulfill a mission. But, as Peter I said: The Russian Navy is for defending the fatherland. Our Soviet Navy ships are also defending the interests of our state—our ships, our people, and ultimately our economy.

[Correspondents] Tell us about the service conditions for our sailors on the warships in the Persian Gulf.

[Sergeyev] The commanders try to make sure that men who have taken a difficult watch get proper relaxation. We have a supply of movies and concert recordings on videocassette. Where possible, if there is a beach, the sailors can swim as much as they like. Of course, the Soviet sailors understand the responsibility they have here. They try to fulfill their obligations as well as possible. Many sailors are cited for orders and medals for diligence shown in fulfilling their service duty.

The presence in the Gulf of Soviet warships is essential, and as soon as the danger for nonmilitary ships disappears, they will leave the Persian Gulf.

Yemen Socialist Party Officials View Problems

PM181721 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Belyakov "Reportage From Democratic Yemen": "Through Difficulties Toward a Better Destiny"]

[Excerpt] Saywun-Al-Mukalla-Aden, February— [Passage omitted] "Our main task for the immediate future is to resolve urgent economic and social problems," 'Abd al-Majid Wakhdayn [name as published], secretary for economic questions of the Hadramawt Province Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] Committee, said. "When people see that there is concern about them, that is the best propaganda for the party's policy at the phase of the national democratic revolution with a socialist prospect."

The following figures give an idea of how social problems are being resolved in the province. Prior to the country gaining independence 20 years ago, there were only a few schools there. Now in the eighties, there are 280. They have 80,000 pupils; that is, the majority of children of

school age. Education is free. As a result of the implementation of the national campaign to eliminate illiteracy, a real spurt has been made with a view to achieving universal literacy among the population. A branch of the Aden University Pedagogical Faculty, which also appeared after the gaining of independence, has opened in Al-Mukalla. The number of hospitals has risen from three to seven. There are now 93 first aid posts. The one former library has been joined by four new ones.

Nonetheless, there are still many problems in the socioeconomic sphere. Every step forward is difficult. There are not enough specialists, knowledge, and sometimes not enough taste for the laborious daily economic work, which is sometimes more complex than fighting the enemies of the revolution.

S. Munassir, first secretary of the Hadramawt Province YSP Committee, agrees on the whole with the assessment of the moment given by Wakhdayn. At the same time, in his opinion, efforts in the socioeconomic sphere must be more closely coordinated with the political line of strengthening the party and expanding its influence among the masses.

There is also a wealth of work here. At present, the YSP remains small and its members are too heterogeneous for a party which has proclaimed scientific socialism as its ideological foundation. There are only 886 YSP members out of 190,000 inhabitants in Saywun district, with which we are already familiar, and this ratio is typical of practically the entire country. But I must point out that the number of party members has increased by 110 in the last year. The social composition of the district's party organization is as follows: 30 percent workers, 20 percent peasants, 26 percent intelligentsia, 18 percent employees, and 6 percent others. Yet the workers are those who work in municipal services and state livestock unit workshops. There is not a single industrial enterprise in the district. It is clear that this social makeup, which reflects the realities of Yemeni society, will create under the influence of the surrounding petit bourgeois mass a spawning ground for the emergence of opportunist trends—either leftists trends, as happened in the late seventies, or rightist trends as in the early eighties.

The past will not relinquish its stand so easily. It resists, sometimes overtly but more often stealthily. There are still too many patriarchal and archaic elements in Yemeni society.

"We don't have an organized opposition party line," Salih al-Mahdi, ideology secretary of the Hadramawt Province YSP Committee, explained to me. "Of course, most dangerous are the stagnant religious traditions which are being encouraged from across the border, where Muslim fundamentalists have reinforced their positions in recent years. We are not embarking on confrontation with religion. We are gambling on propaganda by action and on expanding democracy."

The latter was manifested, in particular, in an experiment conducted in two of the republic's districts—Saywun and Radfan in Lahij Province. District people's councils were elected there. For the first time, as in the party organizations, more candidates were nominated than there were places on the councils. In Saywun—45 candidates for 33 places.

The provincial YSP committee building in Al-Mukalla is next to the former sultan's palace. A museum has been set up in one wing of the palace and cultural enlightenment establishments in the other. As I walked by the sounds of music could be heard. The local orchestra was rehearsing. A lively, gay tune....

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia Refutes 'Forced Resettlement' Reports

LD181213 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Addis Ababa, 18 Feb (TASS)—Tass correspondent Gennadiy Gabrielyan reports:

The Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) has refuted the false reports circulating in the West concerning the "forced resettlement" of Ethiopian citizens from drought zones. BBC Radio broadcast information about the "shooting" of 20 people alleged to have taken place in Wollo Province when they refused to travel to a new place of residence. Such reports distort the character of the Ethiopian Government's long-term program to overcome the consequences of the drought, a government statement published here says. The resettlement, it notes, is implemented on an exclusively voluntary basis. Its aim is to rescue the population of the areas afflicted by a most serious drought. The assertions of the Western press about "violence" demonstrate the interest of certain circles in compromising the government of the PDRE and sowing mistrust toward it among the countries which are giving Ethiopia material aid.

Wodgeress Fikre-Selassie, chairman of the PDRE Council of Ministers, has received Michael Priestley, UN assistant secretary-general for emergency operations in Ethiopia. The UN representative highly appraised the Ethiopian Government's efforts to rescue the population suffering from the natural disaster.

Cape Verde Leaders Receive Ryuytel Delegation

PM181643 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On a Visit to the Republic of Cape Verde by a USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was in the Republic of Cape Verde 2-6 February at the invitation of the National People's Assembly.

The delegation was received by the republic's President Aristides M. Pereira and Prime Minister Pedro V. Pires. Meetings and conversations took place with representatives of the Cape Verde National People's Assembly, in the course of which the sides exchanged information on the activity of the two countries' supreme organs of power and discussed topical international problems and questions of bilateral relations.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies talked about the processes of restructuring and democratization of all spheres of Soviet society and their fruitful influence on the development of international cooperation. It was pointed out that the revolutionary transformations under way in the USSR rivet the attention of the peoples who have chosen the progressive path of development. In this connection it was stressed that Cape Verde's foreign policy, based on the principles of nonalignment, helps to strengthen peace throughout the world and the cause of development and detente. It also helps to strengthen the country's positions in the international arena.

When discussing topical international problems, the two countries' parliamentarians expressed the determination of the USSR and Cape Verde to devote untiring efforts to strengthening mutual understanding, trust, and constructive cooperation between the peoples in the interests of establishing a nonnuclear, nonviolent world. They pointed out that the cessation of the arms race would enable huge funds to be released, which should be channeled toward the resolution of the serious economic problems facing mankind, in particular to supporting the efforts of developing countries to overcome economic backwardness. In this connection, the importance and tremendous historical significance of the USSR-U.S. treaty on eliminating their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was stressed.

The USSR Supreme Soviet and Cape Verde National People's Assembly deputies declared their firm determination to continue efforts to eliminate regional conflicts by peaceful and political means and emphasized the role of the United Nations as an important instrument in the quest for peaceful means to resolve conflict situations.

It was pointed out that such an approach is embodied in the proposals to settle the situations in Afghanistan and Cambodia, the efforts aimed at the convocation of an international peace conference on the Near East, and the initiatives aimed at putting the speediest end to the Iran-Iraq war.

In the opinion of both countries' parliamentarians, the principle of political settlement is also applicable to the conflict in southern Africa which, owing to the racist RSA regime, remains a dangerous seat of international tension. Support was voiced for the efforts of the "front-line" states and solidarity was confirmed with the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for freedom and independence.

When examining questions of bilateral cooperation the conviction was voiced that Soviet-Cape Verdian ties are of a dynamic character and have good prospects. The sides advocated the further deepening of cooperation in various spheres, including the parliamentary level.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation expressed cordial gratitude for the warm reception accorded to it in the course of its stay in Cape Verde. It invited a Cape Verde National People's Assembly delegation to visit the USSR. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

New Burundi Ambassador Meets Demichev

PM171707 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Ildefonse Nkeramihigo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Burundi, presented his credentials to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin on 12 February.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, P.N. Demichev and I. Nkeramikhigo had a friendly conversation.

Briefs

New Envoy to Gambia

Dakar, 17 Feb (TASS)—In the Gambia, people value friendly relations with the Soviet Union and desire to expand bilateral contacts, particularly in the sphere of education, science, and culture. Dawda Jawara, president of the Republic of Gambia, has said this in Banjul. He was receiving the credentials of USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Papkin. Our country will attempt to develop cooperation with the USSR on the basis of friendship, common interests, and mutual advantage, the president pointed out. [Excerpt] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 17 Feb 88 LD*]

East Europe

Gromyko To Visit Hungary 23-27 Feb

LD181712 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will pay an official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from February 23 to 27 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Hungarian-Soviet Treaty Anniversary Celebrated

PM171431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendship and Fraternity Treaty"]

[Text] It is the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Hungary. A ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow working people held 16 February was devoted to this important date.

The presidium included Comrades V.M. Chebrikov and N.V. Talyzin; S.B. Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations. A delegation from the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society headed by G. Biro, its secretary general, was present.

The speeches pointed out that the treaty, which has strengthened the alliance between Hungary and the USSR, has ensured the free development of the Hungarian people on the path of building socialism and has been an important factor in ensuring peace and security in Europe. The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Hungary signed in September 1967 opened up a new phase in the development of multifaceted cooperation between our countries.

It was stressed that meetings between CPSU and MSZMP leaders have a decisive influence on the formation of Soviet-Hungarian ties. Today there is practically no sphere where the Soviet Union and Hungary have not developed contacts. Direct ties have now been established between almost 120 Soviet and Hungarian enterprises. Exchanges are being galvanized in the sphere of science, culture, and public education. Their contribution to strengthening Soviet-Hungarian ties between the two countries' public is weighty.

Today the MSZMP is mobilizing all the forces of society to fulfill the program of socioeconomic stabilization, S. Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR, pointed out in his speech. The socioeconomic transformations in the USSR, he stressed, are of great significance for the development of socialist states. The ambassador expressed satisfaction at the development of Hungarian-Soviet ties in all spheres and stressed that the inviolability of the fraternal alliance between Hungary and the USSR is a basis for improving the cooperation between the two countries which has become especially fruitful in recent years.

On the same day S. Rajnai held a news conference in the Hungarian Embassy in the USSR devoted to this important date.

S. Rajnai organized a reception to mark the anniversary. V.M. Chebrikov, N.V. Talyzin, S.B. Tatliyev, and other officials attended.

MTI on Rally

LD162229 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, February 16 (MTI)—The 40th anniversary of the first Hungarian-Soviet Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was commemorated at a festive rally in Moscow on Tuesday. The presidium of the rally included Viktor Chebrikov, member of the CPSU CC Political Committee and chairman of the State Security Committee, Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU CC PC and first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Vadim Loginov, deputy foreign minister. Gyula Biro, general secretary of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, was also in attendance.

Delivering a speech, Vladimir Pavlov, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Tourism and deputy president of the central leadership of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, spoke of the historic importance of the treaty. He stated that the first Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in 1948 and the second concluded in 1967 had stood the test of time and served the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples. Vladimir Pavlov also spoke of the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and creating more favourable conditions for the expansion and deepening of bilateral ties.

Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union, pointed out in his speech that the treaty had greatly contributed to the fact that Hungary, constructing socialism, was able to take part in international relations as a partner of equal rights since the beginning.

The ambassador highly appreciated achievements in cooperation discussing the common tasks of the two countries, Sandor Rajnai emphasized that we are living in a period which is particularly responsible and crucial for the development of socialism and the joitn future of the Soviet Union and Hungary. The two parties set the huge task of constructing an a more socialist and more advanced society.

In the evening Sandor Rajnai gave a reception at the Hungarian Embassy on the occasion of the anniversary. The reception was attended by Viktor Chebrikov, Nikolay Talyzin, Vadim Loginov and senior officials of Soviet party and social organs.

Rajnai Interviewed

LD182333 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is the 40th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic. In the regard, our correspondent Andrey Sturua met with Sandor Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador extroardinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR.

[Begin recording] [Sturua] Comrade Rajnai, what do you see as the significance of the treaty, the anniversary of which we mark today?

[Rajnai speaking in Hungarian with superimposed Russian translation] One could say a great deal about this, since the treaty is a document of particular importance. It enshrines in legislation the fact that all these years the peoples of our two countries have been proceeding along a single path to a single common goal. At the present time, we are convinced once again of the correctness of the decision adopted 40 years ago.

[Sturua] How do you appraise the level and state of cooperation between our two countries?

[Rajnai] Looking back at the 4 decades that have elapsed since the signing of the treaty, I think we may note with satisfaction that both sides have fully performed all their commitments stemming from this agreement. Let me cite just one fact: Whereas the trade turnover between Hungary and the Soviet Union in 1948 was just R30 million, last year, in 1987, it was about R10 billion. The daily trade turnover is thus equal to the annual turnover in 1948. Yet again I would emphasize, however, that the development of links is occurring not only in the sphere of the economy, but over the whole area of our cooperation.

[Sturua] How do you assess the prospects for cooperation that are opening up before us?

[Rajnai] First and foremost I would like to emphasize the fact that both in your country and also in our own, we are seeking answers actually to the very same questions. This applies to restructuring in the social sphere and to restructuring in economic management for the purpose of improving socialism. Although the sixe of our countries and economic living conditions are fairly different, our approaches to solving problems nevertheless are similar to a considerable extent, and this unity of political approach is a condition for a further dynamic and constructive development of relations between our fraternal countries.

We are currently seeking and finding new forms of cooperation. One of the most up-to-date of these forms has been the creation of joint enterprises. Last year alone more than 10 Soviet-Hungarian enterprises were created. Talks are presently under way on more than 100 projects. Altogether, I must say the broadest prospects for developing cooperation are opening up before us and these prospects accord with both the letter and the spirit of the treaty concluded 40 years ago. For our part, we will do everything we can to achieve the successful expansion and deepening of cooperation. [end recording]

Ambassador Views Treaty

LD162150 Moscow International Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Moscow Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual assistance. At the news conference Sandor Rajnai, HSWP Central Committee member and Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, made a speech. He highlighted that the document signed on 18 February 1948 made legal the new type of relations between our countries. It became a pledge of Hungary's freedom and national independence. The treaty helped Hungary to step onto the international arena as an equal partner. The past 40 years have unequivocally confirmed that the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance has served Hungary's basic national interests. This document has become one of the factors in the two countries' social, economic development.

The new friendship treaty, which was signed in 1967 and which is in effect to this day, was the logical continuation and development of the treaty signed 40 years ago. In our day, the Hungarian People's Republic, together with other states of the socialist community, devotes its main attention to the strengthening of peace and security, to the deepening of the detente process.

Finally, Comrade Rajnai stressed that the Hungarian people follow with great attention the process of restructuring taking pace in the USSR, the results of radical changes in social, economic, scientific, and cultural life. We wish our Soviet friends successes, because these successes also represent the pledge of our progress to come, said the Hungarian ambassador, who, after his briefing, answered journalists' questions.

Leaders Exchange Greetings

LD171958 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers sent greetings to the leaders of the Hungarian People's

Republic Comrades Janos Kadar, Karoly Nemeth, and Karoly Grosz in connection with the 40th anniversary of concluding the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Hungary. The greetings message says the 1948 treaty embodies the best traditions of friendship between the Soviet and Hungarian working people, which was born in the years of the Great October and tempered in the course of the joint struggle against reaction and fascism. The articles of this document, which was further developed in the 1967 Soviet-Hungarian treaty, have withstood the test of time.

We are convinced further strengthening our ties and close Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in international affairs will contribute to bringing to life the wide-scale disarmament program collectively put forth by the allied socialist states, and to establishing an all-embracing system of international peace and security, the greetings say.

In a telegram from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to Comrades Gorbachev, Gromyko, and Ryzhkov, it is noted that the Soviet Unions' efforts directed at strengthening peace and security, its confirmation in practice of the way of thinking and actions that correspond to the requirements of the nuclear age, and the results of the Washington summit meeting are providing reassuring prospects for international cooperation. The telegram wishes the Soviet people new and outstanding successes in fulfilling the historical tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the treaty telegrams were also exchanged between Comrade Shevardnadze and Comrade Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Kulikov on 'Unified' Doctrine

LD190958 [Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1715 GMT on 18 February carries a 30-minute "O[illegible] the Common Path" program which is devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Treaty.

The unidentified presenter begins by reviewing the history of the signing of the treaty. He then introduces Boris Stukalin, Soviet ambassador in Hungary since 1985.

Speaking in Russian, with superimposed Hungarian translation, Stukalin analyzes the first years of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation. He says: "In the opening phase, in the time of setting the people's economy on its feet again and strengthening the system of people's democracy, in our economic relations we urged first and foremost the creation of a significant industrial foundation. This was indispensable for the development of the economy to fulfill the social and political tasks which arose at that time.

"As Hungarian television viewers know well, the Soviet Union, both then and in the following years, gave significant help to Hungary in building and reconstructing large industrial concerns. Over 100 such significant plants were built and reconstructed with the help of the Soviet Union. What is more, according to our Hungarian friends, it is precisely in these factories that the determining part of Hungarian industrial products are manufactured. If we look, for example, at the manufacture of steel and aluminium rolled goods, coke, ball bearings, or refining crude oil, natural gas, then the ratio reaches 80, sometimes even 100 percent."

The history of the treaty is recalled and mention is made of the more progressive nature of the treaty signed in 1967. An unidentified speaker recalls bilateral relations in the years since the treaty was first signed. Gorbachev's speech at the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary in November 1987 is recalled, and an unidentified Soviet voice speaks of more modern forms of economic cooperation.

The history of the formation of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact is outlined.

The presenter introduces Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact nations, who, speaking in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation, discusses the principles of joint defense policy. He says: "Every country has its own characteristics, its own organizational structure. There can of course exist certain characteristics in the methods of training. All this leaves its mark on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member countries. However, I would like to tell the television viewers, everyone, that our military doctrine is in essence unified. The principle is the same, it is the principle of rational sufficiency, the unconditional defense of security, socialist achievements, and peace.

"Everyone is interested by what is meant in the armed forces by the principle of rational sufficiency. There can only be one reply: the sufficiency which securely guarantees the defense of the peace of every state, and of the states of the Warsaw Pact. This is how this appears in the resolution of the political advisory body, and our armed forces keep these precepts in view."

The help given by Soviet soldiers stationed in Hungary on various occasions is recalled, such as the floods in 1970.

Kulikov continues: "The vast majority of Hungarian young people are healthy, strong, with a great sense of patriotism, and fulfill their patriotic duties—that is the

defense of the country—magnificently. On the joint military exercises, the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army are exemplary in their braveness.

"I had the occasion to participate in the recruitment and joining up at the Debrecen military district, where every soldier is excellently prepared during the period of training.

"It cannot be said of our armed forces either that every soldier has the same level of preparedness. The vast majority, however, are basically physically healthy young people. Following the training, they learn bravery. After training and education these are real Soviet people, who work in factories, offices, kolkhozes, sovkhozes.

"Naturally, it would be incorrect to say this applies to everyone. Are there mistakes? Yes. During the period of military service, we try to lay out all those characteristics which make a soldier a real soldier."

The program concludes with an unnamed Soviet speaker talking about the changes under way in the Soviet Union, and the problems still to be overcome in restructuring. Interest toward Hungary has increased in the Soviet Union, resulting in more intense and lively contacts in many spheres.

Finally, an unidentified Hungarian speaks of the importance of cooperation and bilateral as well as international relations, in the age of reform.

MTI Interviews Loginov

LD162209 Budapest MTI in English 1849 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, February 16 (MTI)—In an interview given to the Moscow office of MTI, Vadim Loginov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, highly appreciated the current state of Soviet-Hungarian relations and emphasized that the meetings of the highest-ranking politicians of the two countries played a great role in the expansion and deepening of relations.

Vadim Loginov stated that the meeting between CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and HSWP General Secretary Janos Kadar had become regular. The further development of cooperation is effectively served by the regular prime ministerial meetings. Vadim Loginov said that Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU CC Political Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, is to pay an official friendship visit to Hungary in the coming days.

The deputy foreign minister stated that the Hungarian-Soviet Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance were signed at a time when the western reactionary imperialist circles incited a cold war and made attempts to revise the post-war situation in Europe.

At that time the treaty was a kind of guarantee against the revanchist endeavours and the intentions of the enemies of socialism to prevent the progessive social and political transformations in Hungary.

The treaty created a firm legal basis for the establishment of a new kind of relations between our countries which are free of disparities and hegemony, and based upon Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian interantionalism, and the community of the fundamental interests and aims of our peoples.

The document, together with the similar treaties between the Soviet Union and other people's democracies in Europe, had become an important element of the construction of socialism.

In keeping with the principles laid down in the 1948 treaty, the Soviet Union and Hungary have always given mutual assistance in settling the various problems of socialist construction, developed and improved cooperation in all walks of life, and actively cooperated in the international field, in all spheres of bilateral relations and economic ties.

Deputy Foreign Minister Loginov termed the foreign policy cooperation of the two countries as "businesslike, dynamic and fruitful". Concerning the cooperation of the socialist countries, he said:

"The socialist community has arrived at a new stage of development which I would term as 'socialist renewal'. Several forms and methods of cooperation established in the past comply no longer with the requirements of the age and are undergoing changes. Relations between the fraternal countries are being transformed in the field of foreign policy as well, with the principles of full equality and mutual responsibiliity and the coordination of actions being blended, to a greater extent, with the activity and initaitives of the various countries. It must be emphasized in this respect that the fundamental aims of foreign policy cooperation, namely guaranteeing the most favourable external conditions for socialist construction, and struggle for peace and international security, have remained unchanged. At the same time, in compliance with the changing realities of our uniform, connecting and interdependent world, the interests of mankind as a whole are becoming increasingly important."

In recent years Soviet-Hungarian foreign policy cooperation has become more businesslike, creative and effective. It is characterized by mutual respect, comradely sincerity, and a mutual endeavour for taking the interests of the other side into account. We consult more frequently and a much wider range of issues, and coordinate international efforts to a greater extent.

It is the most conspicuous achievement in foreign policy cooperation that the countries of the socialist community firmly hold the initiatives in all fields of international policy.

They put forward a joint idea to establish a comprehensive international system of peace and security that was approved by the UN General Assembly. The motions of the fraternal countries, including the initiatives of the Warsaw treaty, are on the negotiating table practically at all international disarmament forums. For the world public the name of the Hungarian capital is firmly combined with the Budapest appeal that outlined the possible ways of reducing European armed forces and conventional armaments. The flexible and constructive positions taken by the representatives of the socialist countries give rise to the hope that considerably political results can be achieved in the Vienna meeting. Our allies have made a significant contribution even to the treaties which were not signed by them, for instance the INF-SNF Treaty as the talks were held under a jointly elaborated mandate.

In view of the new way of political thinking and the new initiatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Vadim Loginov answered a question related to the new tasks faced and the new forms required in the foreign policy cooperation of the socialsit countries:

We have practically witnessed the emergence of the most important and most efficient form of political cooperation between the socialist countries in the form of multilateral meetings of high-ranking politicians, the comradely talks on all problems of our age, last but not least, on foreign policy issues.

The form and content of the regular meetings of the Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty have also changed in keeping with the requirements of the age. The meetings are not a simple consultation but an exchange of ideas and the making of large-scale initiatives with the aim of preventing a dangerous turn in events and consolidating peace and general security.

Finally, they have established new forms of cooperation—a group in charge of continuous mutual information and a Special Disarmament Committee. The former makes it possible to exchange views on topical foreign policy affairs in an operative way while the latter provides a framework for discussing the initiatives of the allied states, and elaborating their joint proposals for arms limitations and disarmament.

The restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union creates favourable prospects for the further development of cooperation. It is guaranteed by the fact that the current changes in the socialist countries are in the same direction and the foreign policy of the fraternal parties is marked by unity.

The method under which the foreign policy initiatives of the various countries are integrated with the coordinated line has become of comprehensive nature. Under the present conditions there is no fraternal country which is capable of solving its tasks in the international field separating from the joint line. This holds true of all of us. This coordinated foreign policy can only be effective if it sums up and takes into account the contribution of the various countries to the common cause, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vadim Loginov emphasized in his interview given to MTI.

MSZMP's Peter on Treaty

PM181618 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Janos Peter, MSZMP Central Committee member and Hungarian National Assembly deputy chairman, by own correspondent B. Rodionov in Budapest: "From the Outset"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The fundamental provisions which formed the foundations of the Soviet-Hungarian alliance were formulated in the first Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between our countries, which was signed 40 years ago—on 18 February 1948.

On the eve of the notable anniversary, in the parliament building in Budapest, I talked with someone who was directly involved in the events of 40 years ago—Janos Peter, MSZMP Central Committee member and Hungarian National Assembly deputy chairman. My interviewee came to communism from a long way off. A Reformed Church priest who studied theology in France, Britain, and Germany and helped the anti-Hitler underground, immediately after the war he was accepted into the diplomatic service. Not long before the conclusion of the treaty he became secretary to the president of the republic, whom, incidentally, he hid during the period of fascist terror. As secretary of the Hungarian Government delegation Janos Peter took part in the historic Moscow talks. [passage omitted]

[Rodionov] Who signed the treaty?

[Peter] V.M. Molotov, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and on behalf of the president of the Hungarian Republic (it becamse a People's Republic a bit later) Prime Minister Lajos Dinnyes. It was the finest hour for the leader of the party of small farmers. Soon he left his post, left the part, and became director of the State Agricultural Library. Later, after the events of 1956, deputy chairman of the National Assembly. Incidentally, for many years after he drove around Budapest in a "ministerial" ZIS-110 limousine that was presented to him, as premier, in Moscow.

[Rodionov] If it is not a secret, what gift did you bring back from Moscow?

[Peter] As a modest secretary to the delegation, I bought a cuckoo clock in Gorkiy Street. The Russian souvenir pleased my daughters greatly.

[Rodionov] Let us come back to the treaty. What significance did it have for Hungary at that time?

[Peter] It was very well put by the foreign minister we had at that time, the historian Erik Molnar, who reported on the trip to Moscow at a National Assembly session. When the Soviet Union said it would vouch for Hungary's independence, for its territorial integrity, and for its peaceful and free development, this meant: Democratic Hungary has been able to secure the most firm, most effective international guarantee. Let me add on my own account that thanks to the treaty the new Hungary emerged from its international isolation, and favorable external conditions began to take shape for the acceleration of social transformations.

[Rodionov] Since then a great deal of water has flowed under the bridges of the Danube, which looks so lovely from your office windows. For two decades now a new treaty of alliance has been in force between our states, founded on the principles of socialist internationalism. During those years socialist Hungary has become an authoritative, respected member of the European community of states and an active participant in the Helsinki process....

[Peter] Permit me in this connection to make one more personal digression. While I was Hungarian foreign minister I heard from Bruno Kreisky that during the formation of the "Ostpolitik" he cited Hungarian-Austrian relations of good-neighborliness, which had begun to develop so successfully in the sixties, to Willi Brandt as proof of the feasibility of fruitful cooperation between states with different social systems. We Hungarians thus contributed our brick to the Helsinki edifice.

Today, with the arrival of the new thinking, glasnost, and restructuring, Hungarian-Soviet ties could become particularly effective both in international affairs, in the struggle for a nuclear-free world, and in the economic and cultural sphere, at every level, beginning with the enterprises and labor collectives. This applies not least to the organs of people's representation. The truly revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union, in particular the dramatic eradication of the "blanks" in Soviet history, are attracting the keenest attention.

[Rodionov] And now, if we may, let us talk about Hungarian experience. IZVESTIYA readers are interested, for instance, in the prospects of the development of socialist parliamentarianism in Hungary.

[Peter] This subject is now being discussed in our scientific circles and in the press, and relevant party documents are being formulated. We in Hungary do not intend to abandon the one-party system that we have developed historically, but we consider it necessary to strengthen the representation of various social groups and social forces in the National Assembly. At the recent elections the voters were offered, along with the candidates for a given territorial district (a minimum of two people for each seat), a national list for which the whole country voted. On the proposal of the Patriotic People's Front, the list included leading figures from the MSZMP, the trade unions, other influential public organizations, and unions of national minorities, prominent church figures, and a number of outstanding representatives of science and culture. There is a proposal to supplement and extend, in the next elections, this list of candidates representing different components of our society at a national level. The opinion is also being voiced that in the future it would be possible to set up a second chamber of parliament, based on this expanded list of deputies put forward by different social organizations and groups. As for territorial districts, it is necessary to ensure that all the voters have equal opportunities not only to discuss the proposed candidacies, but also to nominate their own, "alternative" candidates.

[Rodionov] This is the 3d year that a number of these candidates invested with the public's trust have been in parliament. As deputy chairman of the National Assembly, what can you say about their activity as deputies? What has changed in parliament since their appearance?

[Peter] The statistics have "worsened." There has been a fall in the representation of women, young people, and nonparty people (these last are only 27 percent). This is food for thought. The National Assembly does not collect individual reports on the "spontaneously" nominated deputies, but in my observation they are among the most active. However, I will make no secret of the fact that some of them sometimes tend to strike a demagogic note. But we must not be afraid of that. We are all now learning socialist democracy anew, we are reviving it in the Leninist sense of the word. The revival process, like the birth process, can never be painless.

Public Concern Over Price Increases 'Alleviated'

PM091524 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 9

[Article by INTERPRESS observers Zbigniew Chylinski and Zygmunt Swiderski under the rubric "Reporting the Details": "Poland: Prices and Opinions"]

[Text] In the course of the increase in state prices which is taking place in Poland, the biggest rises are in fuel and energy (by 100-200 percent). Raw materials are going up significantly (by 40-53 percent). This means the elimination of the coal subsidy, whereby citizens paid Z5,000 a tonne, while its extraction cost the state Z7,000. Perhaps this will at last prompt everyone to save fuel and energy, as well as raw materials, whose consumption in Poland per unit of national income is three times higher than in the highly developed countries.

The 100 percent rise in prices for food goods which was proposed in the November referendum and which would have made it possible to limit subsidies on food did not meet with the support of the majority of Poles. The fear of a fall in living standards here took the upper hand over the ideas of the supporters of reforms. The lower, 40 percent increase in prices for food products that has been approved by the Sejm for 1988 means that budget subsidies will continue to be appropriated for food production and that these payments will fall more slowly than the interests of the rapid restoration of economic equilibrium demand.

The additional Z6,000 on wages for all 12 million workers in the national economy represents, as Zdzislaw Sadowski, our Planning Commission chairman, said, "a decent minimum for people to adapt to the change in prices." Provision has also been made for special measures to maintain the living standard of the least well off strata of the population.

Public concern over the price rises, alleviated, as already noted, by a whole series of measures, comes on top of the difficult economic situation in Poland, which has a debt amounting to $37.6 billion to the Western countries hanging over it. But at the same time Poland is moving forward, albeit slowly and with difficulty, as is indicated by the annual 2 percent increase in national income, achieved last year too, the capacity to repay debts (last year $2 billion were paid off), and the increasingly wide support in society for the program of reforms, as well as their recognition abroad.

The Poles' opinions on this difficult, although necessary, operation over prices were varied....

Bozena Sosak, Polish Academy of Sciences trade union member and worker at the Institute of Ecology: "The price rises did not surprise me. I do not think alcohol and cigarettes went up enough (by an average of 44 percent). My household budget will fall, of course, which will encourage my family and me to be more economical, especially with electricity. I will not go to work by car so often."

A machine tool operator at the Piorun plant in Warsaw: "The idea of bringing the economy into equilibrium is a good idea, but there is still too much bureaucracy everywhere. A testing time, a time of tightening belts, has come for everyone."

Edward Pomykaj, chairman of the Plytolen workers' association in Koszalin: "We must study in greater depth the new rules of our economy, which have led to the change in wholesale prices, and then we will know where and how to find additional money for the association."

Professor Doctor Jan Mujzel, economist: "I was abroad recently. I often heard the view that Polish society deserves admiration for its resolve. The key problem in the reform of the Polish economy is, in my view, the readiness, the capacity of both the leadership of the country and society in general to put the planned reforms into practice."

Polish Court Sentences Man for Hijack Attempt

LD172136 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw February 17 TASS—The Warsaw Voivodship court has sentenced a Polish man to ten years in jail for an attempt to hijack a plane last may.

On May 15, 1987, Jan Slupski, armed with a home-made grenade, forced the driver of an interurban bus to drive to the Okecie International Airport in Warsaw where he demanded an aircraft to take him to West Germany.

Before he was overpowered, the grenade went off, injuring one of the passengers.

Gromyko Memoirs Address SFRY Relations

LD162031 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—The friendship between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples has stood the test of time, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko writes in his memoirs, entitled "Unforgettable."

In 900 pages of the book, already sold out in Moscow, Gromyko describes historical events in which he actively participated over the past 50 years.

A special chapter is devoted to Soviet-Yugoslav relations. Noting that these relations went through complex stages in the post-war period, Gromyko stresses that their sound basis is the traditional friendship between the two countries' peoples, which was strengthened by their joint sacrifices in the struggle against fascism.

The Yugoslav peoples have a reliable friend in the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav leadership has responded in the same spirit, writes Gromyko at the end of the chapter devoted to Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Murakhovskiy Meets With Romanian Minister

PM161547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 12 February V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR Gosagroprom chairman, received P. Prioteasa, Romanian minister of the food industry and the acquisition of farm produce.

Questions of cooperation in the agro-industrial production sphere were discussed during the meeting.

I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Bulgaria's Mladenov on Balkan Security

LD161600 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade February 16 TASS—In the nuclear age no state can independently guarantee its security and generally, security must be equal for all, Petur Mladenov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and foreign minister of Bulgaria, has said.

He was speaking in an interview with the Zagreb magazine DANAS in connection with the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the Balkan states in Belgrade.

"We see a way to such security in making the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons, adopting purposeful measures for the ecological protection of the region, and broadening trade, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and sport links on a bilateral and, where there are possibilities and a mutual desire, on a multilateral basis," Mladenov said.

He added that the Bulgarian Government is looking forward to the Belgrade conference with optimism as it can mark an excellent start to joint activities on the threshold of the next century and the beginning of regular meetings of the foreign ministers and, in the future and provided there is mutual readiness, also of the top leaders of the Balkan nations.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Visit by UK's Howe

Seen Off by Shevardnadze

LD161843 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe tonight left Moscow for a tour of this country.

He was seen off at the airport by Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and other officials.

Before his departure Howe was received by Boris Tolstykh, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Both sides at that meeting voiced an interest in furthering and broadening cooperation between the two countries in science and technology.

Trip to Kiev

PM191205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Guest of the Ukraine"]

[Text] Kiev, 17 Feb—We in Britain share your desire for peace, and we want our peoples to have more opportunities for expanding relations in various fields, particularly in the sphere of trade and tourism. This was stressed by G. Howe, British secretary for foreign and commonwealth affairs, at a talk at the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

Noting the great interest in the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, he said that M.S. Gorbachev's book on restructuring is being read with enormous interest throughout the world. The meaning of the word "perestroyka" is now understood even outside the Soviet Union. We believe that many ideas set forth in this book are already being embodied in Soviet people's lives. This is having a beneficial effect on the international situation.

The secretary visited Kiev's M. Gorkiy automated machine tool plant and showed interest in the workers' working conditions and the solution of social problems. During his tour of the shops, he talked with workers.

In the Park of Eternal Glory, G. Howe laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

On the same day, G. Howe left Kiev for London. He was in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport Bryan Cartledge, British ambassador to the USSR, was among the send-off party.

Visits Ukraine Exarchate

LD172154 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Kiev February 17 TASS—Despite a rather busy schedule offered to the secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, Geoffrey Howe, during his stay in the capital of the Soviet Ukraine, the guest spent nearly two hours visiting the exarchate of the Ukraine and St Vladimir's Cathedral. This cathedral was build in the centre of Kiev in 1862-1882.

"We are glad that you visited Kiev during your stay in the Soviet Union," the exarch of the Ukraine, metropolitan filaret of Kiev and Galitsa said. "For us, ecclesiastics, this is especially important since the visit by the British secretary to the exarchate coincides with the preparations for the 1,000 anniversary of the arrival of Christianity in Russia. We are also glad that the clergy in your country will take part in the celebrations."

The celebrations of the 1,000 anniversary of Christianization of Russia, the exarch of the Ukraine continued, coincide with very important processes in our country—perestroyka, democratisation, glasnost (openness) and new political thinking. "We hope that our jubilee will help not only extend ties between the churches but also build trust between East and West. I also think that this jubilee will be instrumental in strengthening peace and promoting disarmament. The church today is concerned over the same problem as the state—the problem of the survival of man on earth. Therefore, the church takes an active part in campaigns aimed at promoting nuclear disarmament, banning chemical weapons and eliminating other weapons."

All people dream of a world from which all types of weapons, including nuclear ones, will eventually disappear, Geoffrey Howe said. No one will give up such a dream. Britain gave strong backing to the signing of the treaty between the USSR and USA on intermediate nuclear force. Britain, like the USSR, is actively working towards banning chemical weapons and tackling other, equally important, problems to benefit peace.

Speaking of the anniversary, Geoffrey Howe stressed that Christians in Britain as in other countries, would be glad to join in the coming celebrations of the 1,000 anniversary of the Christianization of Russia. He said he would tell the prime minister and all Britains about the hospitality of Ukrainians and that they were looking forward to meeting Christians from all over the world to mark the anniversary.

Borin Comments on Visit

LD172319 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Nikolay Borin commentary]

[Text] The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, has concluded his visit to Moscow. Nikolay Borin now considers some of the results of Sir Geoffrey's visit and some of the points he made in his speeches.

[Borin] In the first place, I would like to point out the degree of frankness and constructiveness in Soviet-British relations and that they have been growing with every common meeting. This frankness throws into bold relief both the points of closeness and the existing differences. For instance, Sir Geoffrey favors a 50-percent slash in Soviet and American strategic nuclear weapons. He has indicated London is viewing this as the most important issue, following the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe. At the same time, Sir Geoffrey has stated Britain is determined to carry through to the end its planned modernization of nuclear forces. This, he claims, is the minimum necessary to maintain his country's security.

The question naturally arises as to how far this so-called necessary minimum (?may extend, while) to consider the fact that before the Euromissile treaty was signed and before talks virtually began on cuts by half in the Soviet and American nuclear potentials, the Trident project, too, had been proclaimed as the necessary minimum for Britain's security. The situation seems to be a real paradox. However intensive disarmament steps the Soviet Union and the United States may take, Britain is determined, in any case, to multiply the number of its own nuclear warheads by five times, allegedly to guarantee its own security. Such a changeable approach to the notion of necessary minimum has very little in common with efforts to reduce arsenals worldwide.

(?Some) more inconsistencies were the claim that the British nuclear potential constitutes only a small fraction of the Soviet nuclear potential. This statement bluntly ignores the fact that the Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal is a counterbalance to the comparable merits of the American nuclear forces. In this case, the growing British and French potential can well lead to nuclear imbalances between East and West, especially in the prospect of further significant reductions of nuclear arms in the Soviet Union and in the United States.

Another point of difference concerns one particular issue characterizing the approach to chemical weapons problem. Britain and the Soviet Union have jointly done much to facilitate a convention banning chemical weapons, and Sir Geoffrey Howe's assertions that the verification problem impedes the convention signing can in no way justify the fact that at the end of last year the United States launched the production of chemical weapons, meant for waging a chemical war in Europe. Sir Geoffrey voiced mistrust for the Soviet figures and statements concerning the Soviet Union's chemical potential. Well, Sir Geoffrey has the right to do so. What I'd like to call attention to is this: The chemical and bacteriological weapons center in Porton Down and the NATO chemical weapons proving ground, also in Porton Down, can hardly support Sir Geoffrey's statement that during the past 30 years Great Britain has been a mere onlooker in the race in chemical weapons. As early as last summer, the British press exposed the facts of British servicemen undergoing combat toxication tests. Facts of this kind seeped out in the British press before. They were never denied by the British Ministry of Defense. Now, control (?over) chemical weapons production is a difficult question indeed. The Soviet Union has the right to approach it just as closely, all the more so control over chemical industrial facilities in the Soviet Union is exercised by the government, whereas it is exercised by private companies in the United States. [sentence as heard]

In summing up the meetings in Moscow, we can say that the two sides, nevertheless, have gained a better view of each other's positions and starting points to improve relations.

Soviet-British Civil Aviation Cooperation Noted
PM150945 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with A.N. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation, by own correspondent A. Krivopalov in London: "British Airways-Aeroflot"; date not given—first paragraph IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] London—A delegation from the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation headed by A.N. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation, has been in Britain. Before the delegation left for home, our correspondent put a number of questions to the head of the delegation.

[Krivopalov] There have been direct air connections between our countries for 30 years now. What can you say about their importance?

[Volkov] The mutual opinion is that these 30 years have passed in the gradual and progressive development of cooperation between Soviet and British civil aviation. The number of flights and routes has increased.

[Krivopalov] You and Lord King, president of British Airways, signed a declaration. Briefly, what was it about?

[Volkov] Both sides reaffirmed the need to further develop and deepen cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis. The British are interested above all in increasing passenger numbers on the trans-Siberian route. We agreed to this in principle, but explained that this route must now be fitted with more modern navigational equipment.

[Krivopalov] What are the prospects?

[Volkov] The prospects are joint efforts to ensure flight safety, for instance: there will be exchanges of information and experience in this area.

We suggested that we also discuss with our British partners the question of setting up joint airline catering facilities—these are needed by major international airports in our country such as Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Minsk, and Adler. The British have excellent equipment.

[Krivopalov] Comrade minister, you also familiarized yourself with the ground services at British airports. In particular, you visited the Rediffusion firm, which specializes in flight simulators. Could you please say a few words about this?

[Volkov] This was very interesting. I would like to point out one detail—pilot training these days is getting more expensive all the time. The British have found the answer in constantly upgrading their simulators for future pilots. These simulators sometimes even anticipate the appearance of new planes on the routes. That is why civil pilots are already trained when they convert from simulators on the ground to take control of the aircraft. Here, too, there are opportunities to borrow useful experience from our British partners.

Danish Parliament Votes To Promote Disarmament
LD190418 Moscow TASS in English 0057 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Copenhagen February 18 TASS—Denmark's Folketinget (parliament) passed by a majority of votes today a resolution which makes it incumbent upon the government to actively promote consolidation of positive changes in the international situation, which appeared as a result of the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, to promote destruction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and reduction of conventional armaments.

The resolution points to the need for compliance with the parliament's earlier approved resolution, in accordance with which the government cannot agree without the Folketinget's relevant decision to modernisation or deployment of new nuclear armaments in Europe, within the NATO framework.

The Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the Socialist People's Party and the Radical Left Party voted for the resolution. The parties of the bourgeois governmental coalition along with the Progress Party voted against.

FRG Bundeswehr Group To Visit Soviet Union
LD161829 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1053 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Bonn, 16 Feb (TASS)—Our upcoming official visit to Moscow must become a real contribution to the task of strengthening trust between the Soviet Union and the FRG, to the task of easing tension between member countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, said Lieutenant Colonel Rolf Wenzel, chairman of the Union of Servicemen of the FRG Bundeswehr.

He is heading the Union delegation which on 21 February will set off to the USSR on a 3-day visit at the invitation of the Soviet Committee in the Defense of Peace, and also of the Soviet section of the international organization "Generals for Peace and Disarmament." This is the first such trip of representatives of the Union of Servicemen of the FRG Bundeswehr to the Soviet Union. This organisation unites in its ranks about 250,000 past and present servicemen of the Bundeswehr.

Portugalov Interviewed on FRG-GDR Ties
DW190730 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2045 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Interview with Nikolay Portugalov, Soviet expert on policy pertaining to Germany, by moderator Dieter Kronzucker on the "Heute-Journal" program in the Mainz ZDF studio on 18 February—recorded]

[Text] [Kronzucker] Welcome, Mr Portugalov. You are an advisor to the CPSU Central Committee, and you were a journalist in West Germany and in Bonn for

many years. You should appreciate the current progress in inter-German relations. Will the USSR simply accept rapprochement between the two German states, or will it put a stop to it, as has been the case in the past?

[Portugalov] First, Mr Kronzucker, we have a different view of something like putting a stop to it. From our viewpoint, the GDR's policy—the policy of the second German state—toward the FRG has always been independent. Second, it certainly makes sense that—in light of European realities—the relationship between the two German states, as sovereign and independent states, is constantly improving. Obviously, that is what is happening.

[Kronzucker] Do you think, or can you share the view that the Germans on both sides of the wall belong to one nation?

[Portugalov] Well, I cannot say that clearly. I think it will suffice if I say that German people live in both German states.

[Kronzucker] Germany's reunification is specified in the preamble to our basic law. Do you think it has become more distant now because of existing realities? Must there be rapprochement between East and West first, some sort of relaxation in general?

[Portugalov] I am afraid, Mr Kronzucker, that I cannot accept the way you put that question. In your country, reunification is supposed to happen somewhere at the end of the road—according to the FRG Constitution's preamble. Our foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze, once said that constitutions as such do not prevail forever. They are apt to change with time. Regarding our position on the German issue per se, permit me to quote General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. It appears to me that his remarks, which were made first during his talks with FRG President Von Weizsaecker and which were then reflected in his book, are not being given their proper weight here. They are not being considered thoroughly. What does the general secretary say? He says there are political realities—two German states. It was not we who caused the partition of Germany. Since then, decades of political realities have passed. So we should proceed from the assumption that we have absolutely no objections—we wholly support it—to the relationship between the two German states improving constantly. However, let me again quote General Secretary Gorbachev—let us leave it to history to make the ultimate decision about the national destiny and about the form of Germany's existence as a state. History will decide. If I were a German, particularly a German journalist—I mean an FRG journalist here in the FRG—I would take that much to heart.

[Kronzucker] One last question: According to the Washington agreement, the intermediate-range missiles will be eliminated.

[Portugalov] That is how it is.

[Kronzucker] We in Germany are somewhat concerned over where the nuclear shorter-range missiles will be. We must maintain them as the Soviets' superiority in tanks exists. To what extent are the Soviets prepared to take those concerns into account?

[Portugalov] Our proposals have been submitted, Mr Kronzucker. In Vienna there is almost feverish—because the matter is overdue —work on the mandate for the forthcoming negotiations over conventional disarmament. But let me stress one thing—it makes little sense if we only discuss the conventional field. We are prepared to discuss all asymmetries and balances, which are in fact not always in our favor. We are prepared to talk about everything, including the nuclear tactical field in whatever form. It seems that when I read the German press about the line that FRG Chancellor Kohl and FRG Foreign Minsiter Genscher are pursuing in Washington, there is a certain parallelism in the approach toward the problem. In the FRG it is said, as it is in the German area per se—in both German states—the shorter the range, the deader the German. That macabre word implies the truth. In that sense, our interests at least run parallel.

[Kronzucker] Many thanks for coming to our studio, Mr Portugalov.

Briefs

Accord With Irish Airline

Moscow February 16 TASS—TASS correspondent Stanislav Vargulevich reports: Leaders of the Soviet Aeroflot and of the Irish Air Rianta signed here today an agreement about the intentions to set up a joint Soviet-Irish enterprise for servicing air passengers on the ground, specifically on the opening of two duty-free shops at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 Airport. For the Soviet side the document was signed by director-general of Aeroflot's central board of international air services, Vladimir Nacharov. For the Irish side, it was signed by Air Rianta Executive Director Martin Dully. [Excerpt] [*Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 16 Feb 88 LD*]

Accord With FRG TV Company

Moscow February 16 TASS—The USSR State Committee for Radio Broadcasting and Television signed a protocol for cooperation in 1988 with the West German radio and television company Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) in Moscow today. The protocol provides for further exchanges with television and radio materials about the events in the Soviet Union and West Germany, as well as for rendering mutual assistance to television and radio reporters and camera crews in preparing programmes about the life of people in the two countries. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 16 Feb 88 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaraguan Opposition Parties To Resume Talks

LD121355 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 12 TASS—Fourteen opposition parties and political groups of Nicaragua have agreed to resume a political dialogue broken off last December, which is part of the Guatemala peace accords. Representatives of the opposition handed over to the national leadership last Thursday a statement reaffirming their readiness to promote the national reconciliation process. The statement contained the demand of the opposition to release the instigators of the unrest in Masaya who had been arrested by the authorities for the organization of anti-government actions. Last week the opposition parties refused to respond to the call of the Nicaraguan Government and to resume the talks on problems of the democratization of society. They boycotted a sitting scheduled for February 2 under the pretext of the absence of a clear agenda.

In its turn, the Nicaraguan Government accepted the date of holding a regular round of ceasefire talks proposed by the contras leaders—February 18-20 instead of a meeting in Guatemala scheduled for February 10. One of the members of the Nicaraguan delegation at the talks expressed regret over the refusal of the contras to conduct the round of the dialogue at a scheduled date, which led to the continuation of senseless bloodshed in the country and to more casualties among the civilian population.

Nicaraguan Interior Minister on Peace Efforts

LD130941 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 13 TASS—The Nicaraguan leadership's policy aimed at achieving lasting peace in Central America, national reconciliation, and a solution to the problem of national minorities remains the main target of attacks on the part of the opponents of a peaceful settlement, Tomas Borge Martinez, the Republic's minister of the interior, has stated here.

The advocates of an armed way of solving the conflict, he pointed out, in every way try to hinder peace efforts in this explosive region of the world. For this purpose the leaders of the Nicaraguan armed counter-revolutionaries delay direct talks with the Sandinist government on a ceasefire in the country. The ultra-rightist opposition, seeking to strain the internal political situation in Nicaragua, in every way distorts the policy of the national leadership and the essence of revolutionary transformations, and makes provocative attacks.

Tomas Borge Martinez urged the right-wing opposition to be reasonable and to end unlawful actions. At the same time he called on the members of people's military to maintain restraint and to prevent violations of legality during the restoration of the peace.

Nicaragua's Ortega on Political, Economic Ties

LD132022 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 13 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has declared for extending all-round political and economic ties among Central American states. Attaining peace and democracy in this part of the world is indissolubly linked with regional integration and economic advancement of Central American countries.

The development of economic relations within the framework of the Central American Parliament requires from all countries the adoption of most urgent measures to upgrade their economic ties. This course of attaining independence was confirmed also at the meeting of presidents of several Latin American countries in the Mexican city of Acapulco, during which concrete ways were charted of the Central American peoples' efforts to assure national sovereignty and do away with the domination of foreign capital, Ortega said.

The Nicaraguan leader exmphasized that Central America was going through a complex period now, which required of the countries in the region maximum efforts and political will to implement successfully the Guatemalan peace accords. But economic and political independence and peace settlement cannot be achieved without the aid of Latin American countries, primarily the Contadora and Support Groups, the president said.

Nicaragua To Continue Fight Against Contras

LD141326 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 14 TASS—Nicaragua will continue to fight against the armed contra groups, which are supported by the U.S. Administration, and to strengthen the republic's defence potential in the face of the intrigues of external and internal reactionaries, Bayardo Arce Castano, deputy coordinator of the Executive Commission of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, pointed out in Masaya on Saturday.

"However, this does not mean that the Government of Nicaragua wants war, and not peace", he said. "We strictly observe the obligations we took upon ourselves in Guatemala concerning a peaceful settlement of problems in Central America".

"The government will continue to look for ways to solve the country's problems by peaceful means. It will not, however, allow an overt support for the armed counter-revolutionaries or violation of legality by right-wing

reactionaries and pseudo-revolutionary parties. The Nicaraguan people overthrew the Somoza dictatorship for ever, and there is no bringing it back", Bayardo Arce Castano pointed out.

Second Round of Contra-Sandinist Talks Held

LD190424 Moscow TASS in English 0103 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Guatemala February 19 TASS—The second round of direct talks between the Nicaraguan Government and contras on the ceasefire in Nicaragua has opened in the Guatemalan capital. The Sandinist government's constructive proposal aimed at an early end to the armed conflict in the country in the framework of the constitution operating in Nicaragua and Guatemalan agreements are being discussed at the talks.

In accordance with the Nicaraguan Government's initiatives the timeframe for the ceasefire is set from March 15 to April 15, 1988. The Sandinist People's Army stops offensive operations against contra units as of March 1. After contras avail themselves of the amnesty announced in Nicaragua and lay down arms, they can participate on a full-fledged basis in the country's political life.

Expressing the hope for a positive outcome of the talks, Nicaragua's Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco who heads the government delegation, said at a news conference here: "Our proposals at the talks are not an ultimatum. They are well-considered proposals open to debate".

As it became known here, the leaders of the contras came to the talks with their former demands. They are aimed not at an end to bloodshed in Nicaragua but at bringing further military-political pressure on the Nicaraguan Government with a view to eliminating the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people. The main item of the proposals of the contras dictated by Washington are the demands to involve the Nicaraugan internal opposition in the talks on the ceasefire, to alter or abrogate 17 clauses of the Constitution and actually disband the Sandinist People's Army.

Demonstration Held at U.S. Embassy in Managua

LD190921 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 19 TASS—The participants in a demonstration, which took place outside the U.S. Embassy building here on Thursday, demanded an end to the Reagan administration's criminal activities against Nicaragua and to aid to the contras.

American citizens who reside in Nicaragua came out against the granting of any new financial and other aid to the contras who commit crimes against Nicaraguan civilians. The members of the internationalist teams who render assistance to the Nicaraguans in the construction of apartment houses in the country's north demanded that Washington's interventionist policy in Central America be immediately discontinued.

They also expressed their disagreement with the "alternative" aid to the contras suggested by Democratic congressmen in response to the setback suffered by the Reagan administration in the U.S. House of Representatives which banned the allocation of new millions-worth funds in aid to the contras.

Central American Seminar Opens in San Salvador

LD171101 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Havana February 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov reports:

A conference of foreign ministers of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala opens in the Salvadorean capital today. The key topic on the agenda of the meeting is the discussion of the issue of a new composition of the international commission to monitor the implementation of the Guatemalan accords.

Political observers predict that the conference will be held amid heated debates sparked by the intention of El Salvador and Honduras, which do the bidding of the United States, to get the expulsion of the representatives of the Contadora and Support Groups from the international commission. Besides, El Salvador and Honduras keep claiming, echoing the White House, that Nicaragua does not fulfil the Guatemalan accords. These claims are in conflict with obvious facts since Nicaragua is the first country in the region to have implemented all provisions of this document.

The Nicaraguan Government confirmed the other day that it was against the expulsion of the Contadora and Support Groups from the international commission since this move would rule out guarantees of real control over the fulfillment of the Guatemalan accords. Nicaragua also suggests putting on the international commission some West European politicians and charging them with monitoring observance of Central American countries' mutual security.

The Contadora and Support Group countries have made throughout all years of the existence of these organizations a tangible contribution to normalizing the crisis situation in Central America. These countries initiated the process of political consultations aimed at finding ways to overcome the crisis situation in the region, which would be acceptable to each of the Central American states, for it is fraught with the danger of outgrowing into a global international conflict. Political observers firmly believe that the expulsion of the representatives of the Contadora and Support Groups from the international commission will deal a blow to the process of the political settlement in Central America.

A decision on the composition of the international commission to monitor the implementation of the Guatemalan agreement, which the foreign ministers will reach at today's meeting, will be passed over for ratification to the presidents of respective Central American states.

At today's meeting, the foreign ministers intend also to endorse a draft report on the size of economic aid needed by the countries in the region. This document will be submitted for consideration to the European Economic Community.

Paraguay CP Issues Anniversary Statement

LD181518 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Buenos Aires February 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kolesnikov reports:

The overthrow of the Stroessner dictatorial regime and the formation of a truly democratic government in Paraguay is the main task of the present day, says a statement by the Paraguayan Communist Party on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the party which is marked on February 19. The document points out that the party was born under the influence of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The statement notes the great contribution of the Paraguayan Communists to the struggle for the country's liberation from the tyranny of the pro-imperialist regime and for restoration of democratic freedoms. Many leaders and activists of the party fell victims of terror, died or are missing. They include Antonio Maidana, first secretary of the PCP Central Committee, who was abducted by the dictator's agents in Buenos Aires in August 1980 together with Emilio Roa, member of the PCP Central Committee.

The document runs that stepped-up anti-dictatorial actions involving workers, peasants, students and representatives of other broad segments of Paraguayan population, are characteristic of the present situation in Paraguay. Of great importance is the emerging trend for concerted actions of all opposition forces of the country, which was especially manifest at a time when political parties and groups banned by the regime came out jointly against the farce of re-electing Stroessner as president. Such unity of actions of all anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist forces of Paraguay should be consolidated, since it is an earnest of victory. "Our party," points out the document, "declares again that Paraguay's return to democratic forms of government is impossible without the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, destruction of the suppressive apparatus, repeal of the Stroessner Constitution and reactionary legislation. We Communists believe that the alliance of workers and peasants, of the entire people should be the driving force of democratic process." That is why it is so important to establish a national anti-dictatorial front representing all political and public forces which come out for democracy.

The document points out that the 60th anniversary is marked at a time when the situation in the country is drastically changing and when important transformations are taking place in the international arena. Today the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union increasingly consolidates its position in international relations. The negotiations on containing the arms race and preventing a nuclear disaster have become possible thanks to this policy. Of great importance is also international solidarity, above all of the socialist countires led by the USSR where the process of perestroyka, under way now, embodies continuation of revolution.

Haiti Backs 'U.S. Geopolitical Interests'

PM121509 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vadim Listov "Viewpoint": "Pure Formality?"]

[Text] Reports have come in from Port-au-Prince that Leslie Manigat, who was "made" president of Haiti during the election held on 17 January, has officially taken up his post.

There could be no doubt of the outcome of the presidential elections after the ruling regime, headed by General Namphy, adopted a series of measures at the beginning of January to prepare for them better. These measures included, in particular, the exclusion from the ballot of 11 of the 22 presidential contenders and the establishment of Army control over all the country's major cities—by which the government let it be understood that it had no intention this time of playing games with its political opponents.

The future course of events was, as chess players say, pure formality. There was the voting, counting of the ballot papers, and "victory" of one candidate—Manigat—who gained 50.3 percent of all votes cast.

The presidential elections in Haiti were held according to the classic canons of bourgeois "representative democracy" and were, naturally, deemed to be legitimate. But the fact that they were "neither free, honest, nor open," as even R. Holwill, a high-ranking State Department staffer, described them, did not worry the Haitian ruling elite or its Washington patrons.

Clearly, in the period since "Baby Doc" Duvalier fled, Washington has had to rack its brains about what to do to avert a weakening of its influence in Haiti. The

turbulent outbreak of patriotic nationalist (and, consequently, anti-imperialist) sentiments which encompassed the entire population after "Baby Doc's" escape, provoked serious alarm in the U.S. Administration, because the very existence of the pro-U.S. regime was in jeopardy.

I will take the liberty of citing an excerpt from a WASHINGTON POST editorial concerning the prospects for U.S.-Haitian relations, published under the typical headline: "Grenada-2?": "No, there will be no repetition of rapid effective intervention," the newspaper wrote. "This option has entered many people's minds. However, in the case in question, there is no appropriate regional treaty or request for intervention, and the geopolitical factor which led to the invasion of Grenada is not present. Nor are there any opposition armed forces in Haiti ready to initiate a struggle for liberation. Haiti's neighboring states have abandoned attempts to draw General Namphy into dialogue. Something a little more substantial is necessary: not a second Grenada, but not dialogue either..."

The article from which this excerpt is taken was published only a week before the election, that is, when the scenario engendered with Washington's overt participation was in full swing. Today no one is left in any doubt that the essence of this scenario was to return Haiti to a regime of "representative democracy" at any price while ensuring the victory of a pro-U.S. candidate.

Washington must, no doubt, be satisfied with the results of operation "Election." A 57-year-old professor of political sciences, who himself studied and taught in the United States, has become president of Haiti. True, he did cooperate for some time with the Duvalier dictatorship and worked in Haiti's university administration. But then he emigrated to the United States and "opposed" Duvalier there. So it is quite possible to rank him as an "opponent" of the Duvalier dictatorship. As for the opposition opinion that Manigat is the protege of the military, this must be particularly opportune for Washington in the case in question: "representative democracy" which will enjoy the Army's full support—what could be a better guarantee of U.S. geopolitical interests in this region? That this "tandem" will rule in Haiti is not a conjecture or a prognosis. It is grim reality: Manigat himself has stated that he considers cooperation between the Army and a "democratic, competent, and honest government totally devoted to the people" to be vitally necessary.

Let us bypass these and similar utterances by Haiti's new president, which sound like frank insults both to the "election" held there and common sense. The point is not essentially Manigat but his Washington patrons. How will they behave now? General Namphy and his associates do not hide the fact that they hope that Manigat will be able to convince Washington to resume its offer to Haiti of economic and military aid worth approximately $75 million granted after the disruption of the first election late last year. Maybe the United States will also add an inordinate amount of dollars to "strengthen democracy" in Haiti? Time will tell whether the offer of open U.S. aid to the Haitian regime is pure "formality."

Government Sends Regrets on Brazilian Floods

PM171739 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Condolences in Connection With the Natural Disaster in Brazil"]

[Text] In connection with the death toll and destruction caused by the severe floods in Rio de Janeiro state, the USSR Council of Ministers has sent a cable to President J. Sarney of Brazil expressing Soviet people's sincere sympathy and condolences to the families and friends of those who have suffered.

Briefs

Port Contract With Argentina

Buenos Aires, 13 Feb (TASS)—A contract has been signed here for the Soviet "Tekhnostroyexport" association to carry out work to deepen the seaport of Bahia Blanca (Buenos Aires province) on the Atlantic coast of Argentina. This port is important to the export of Argentine grain. The implementation of the work stipulated in the contract will help ensure that large tonnage ocean-going vessels can call at Bahia Blanca, will increase the speed of port work, and expand the Republic's export opportunities. The construction of a large elevator at the port is also planned at the same time. Rodolfo Terragno, minister of public works and services, who spoke at the signing ceremony, stressed the great importance of the contract for Argentina. Its implementation will allow the export of national agricultural produce to be stepped up. He noted the mutually beneficial nature of Soviet-Argentine economic trade cooperation and expressed confidence that it will continue to develop well in the future. [Text] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 13 Feb 88 LD*]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Plenum on Restructuring

PM191111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1-3

["Revolutionary Restructuring Requires Ideology of Renewal. Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 18 February 1988"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades,

Our plenum is taking place at a crucial period of restructuring. The democratization of social life and radical economic reform demand a clear action plan from the party. The Politburo is being guided by this in working out the concept of the 19th party conference. The conference is to determine much in the party's strategic work.

But no matter from what positions we approach defining the ways of developing our economy, culture, and social and spiritual life, the decisive factor will always be man himself, his political and intellectual makeup, his skill, his patriotism and internationalism, his creative ability, his civic stance and activeness.

There is no doubt at all that everything that affects the school, education, and instruction is directly bound up with the development of socialism, with restructuring. This is, moreover, the most important area of it. I would remind you that back in the first very difficult postrevolutionary years V.I. Lenin considered the building of the new Soviet school one of the most urgent tasks of the party. That is understandable, since the future of socialism depends, without any exaggeration, on the teaching and instruction of the new man.

That is how it is today, when our society is carrying out a revolutionary transition to a qualitatively new state. It needs well-educated, committed citizens who are devoted to socialism and at the same time active, inquisitive, able to live and work in conditions of democracy and the economic independence of collectives and in an atmosphere of growing economic and social responsibility for oneself and the country.

The role of all levels of school in preparing such a person was discusssed in the report delivered by Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev and in speeches by other comrades, and I will not repeat that.

But if we make such great demands on the school, what a considerable and authoritative figure the teacher must be! How extensive his store of knowledge, what a gift for teaching and skill he must possess! Here, comrades, we have the "basic link" of the restructuring of the whole education system.

Of course, a new organization of education, new study programs, and material and technical backup for teaching, including computers, are necessary, and as quickly as possible. But without people who devote their hearts and minds to our children, without the Teacher with a capital T, all this could remain purely formal and costly innovations which do not go the nub of the matter.

The teacher is the most important protagonist in restructuring. If he supports us with conviction, sense, and passion, restructuring will gain many new sincere champions, fighters, and continuers of the revolutionary socialist cause! But supposing he supports us in a purely formal way and remains indifferent and neutral? Who can predict the social stagnation and reversal that such indifference could bring?

Of course, there is always hope in life itself: Today it speaks the language of restructuring—the honest, frank language of truth, and this affords probably the best social training. Yet, and this is only natutral, we pin our hope for the future to a considerable extent on the work of our school, its own restructuring, the teaching talent and creative search of the Soviet teacher.

Our attitude to the teacher must be radically and resolutely altered, without delay or hesitation. It is necessary to rescue him from petty supervision and eliminate suspicion when he explores and discovers new things. He must be relieved of duties that have nothing to do with teaching and his time and energy must be freed to the maximum for his main task. All obstacles and barriers to innovation in teaching [pedagogika] must be removed and worthy material conditions for the teacher's creative labor created. This is the duty of party and Soviet organs.

Marvelous innovative teachers searching for their own ways of teaching and instructing children are working in multinational Soviet schools. Their names are well known. The more very highly skilled teachers like these we have and the more often original collectives of like-minded teachers emerge, the more quickly our schools will rid themselves of routine, formalism, and the spirit of stagnation. Our children, grandchildren, and the entire cause of revolutionary restructuring will benefit from this.

The material base of secondary and higher education [shkola] is another very important area of work. I am thinking here of all kinds of education and training and all educational establishments. Obviously, we will continue everywhere—both at the center and at local level—to seek additional opportunities to develop and strengthen the education base. Here there are not and cannot be two opinions.

Our plenum examined the implementation of the educational reform from broad state positions. The main thing is that we must carry through the reform of

secondary and higher education to a conclusion everywhere. We must not permit delays, half-measures, or any lack of coordination. We must act consistently and purposefully.

We have had a very fruitful discussion over these days. It has shown once again how many problems have accumulated and how doggedly we must work. The overall line here is clear: The Soviet education system must be raised to a qualitatively new level. We are united on that.

But I think it would be wrong now at the plenum to define all the specific routes which the renewal of the educational system will follow. That is a complex task. The broad public and, above all, specialists—teachers, lecturers, and scientists—must air their own decisive opinions in this area. Our plenum's decisions should be a political recommendation from the party to teachers preparing for their next congress. Workers in higher and secondary specialized education should think about this too. This approach will undoubtedly be in the spirit of democratization and the spirit of restructuring.

Comrades! I would like to dwell in my speech on certain principled ideological aspects of restructuring. Namely, on the ideological interpretation of the work we are doing, since nothing escapes man's consciousness and nothing is done without man.

I would also like to take this opportunity to ask on a preliminary basis certain questions which must be considered and discussed in the run-up to the 19th all-union party conference.

Now that we have embarked on the decisive stage of the struggle to implement the decisions we have adopted, when policy is becoming everyday practice, and when restructuring has gained extensive scope, it is affecting the vital interests of tens of millions of people and all society more and more deeply. Questions which had seemingly already been answered are again becoming topical. People want to gain a better grasp of the essence of the incipient changes in society and to understand the essence and role of the restructuring on which we are embarking, the heights we are striving to reach, and what we mean by the new quality of society which we want to achieve.

This desire is entirely natural: We have started restructuring the forms of social life, assimilating new things, and rejecting existing stereotypes. These changes affect people's consciousness and mentality, their interests, and their position in society and labor collectives. It must be admitted that even many good people seemed in the past to accustom themselves to violations and shortcomings, became indifferent to them, and lowered their social activeness. Many people failed to realize immediately the point of the transformations that had begun and did not immediately see that restructuring opens up new goals in life, improves themselves, and wholly accords with their material and spiritual interests. Restructuring makes particular demands of those who were not living from their work, who were not following the dictates of their conscience, and who were working badly. I am not just talking about obvious violators of the law and morality of socialist society.

This, I would say, is the difficult political and ideological situation in which we will have to operate. The party often has to literally struggle for restructuring both in production and in the spiritual sphere. Needless to say, in our country this struggle does not take the form of class antagonisms. But we can see, comrades, how acute the struggle is. There are fierce discussions about the obstacles which restructuring is encountering; people are worried that the innovative decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January and June plenums are being implemented slowly and with difficulty. For the first time in many decades we have a real sense of a socialist plurality of views. This too is unusual, is assessed in different ways, and requires study, analysis, and explanation. But behind all this we must see the main thing—the growing support for the restructuring policy from the people.

We say that we support and will continue to support anything that benefits socialism, and that we reject and will continue to reject everything that harms the people's interests. We can see that some people are confused, wondering whether we are backsliding from socialist positions, particularly when we introduce new and unaccustomed forms of economic management and social life, and whether we are not revising Marxist-Leninist teaching itself. It is no wonder that "defenders" of Marxism-Leninism have already appeared along with mourners of socialism, who believe that both Marxism-Leninism and socialism are under threat.

What is the source of this? What is the cause of such fears? The answer lies, I think, in restructuring often being understood in different ways. Some people see it as a cosmetic repair, a retouching of the facade, a kind of "fine-tuning" of the existing mechanism—which may creak a little but does work, whereas we still do not know how the new version will turn out. Others demand that we strip the socialist system itself to its foundations, declare the path that our people have followed for decades to be false and a dead-end, deny outright the assets of socialism, and borrow alternatives to them from the arsenal of bourgeois liberalism and nationalism. Others delight in radical phraseology and call for us to skip stages of socialist development, ignoring the logic of restructuring.

Everything I have said is no exaggeration, no deliberate exacerbation of the problem. Yes, all this is taking place. This situation has been produced by the scale of restructuring, its depth, and the scaling of new heights, when the majority have realized that our goals and plans are realistic and that, to use Lenin's expression, they are "serious and for keeps."

Nor can we fail to take account of the immense difficulties linked with the reorientation of our thinking on fundamental issues. Such a situation has already occurred in our history. Developing his cooperative plan, Lenin pointed out: "...We have been forced to recognize a fundamental change in our entire view of socialism." But we know what efforts the party had to make in order to do this. The discussions that took place in those years prove it. It took the prestige and genius of Lenin to ensure that the new approach to socialism gained the support of the party and country. We must learn the lessons of that period well. That is now vitally necessary for us.

Restructuring obliges us to take a new look at certain familiar characteristics and contrast not only the route we have traveled but the route still to come with the criteria of progress and the goals for building the new society formulated in the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In other words, to verify the direction of our practical actions against the main beacons which have guided communists for more than a century now, and not simply to repeat parroted truisms for the sake of some kind of ritual, but to seek answers to the many issues generated by the prevailing situation.

That, comrades, is why the problems of ideological activity and the questions of the theory of socialism and restructuring are of such great importance. It cannot be said that ideological and theoretical questions have gone unheeded. They are extensively reflected in the Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress, in the new edition of the CPSU Program, in the materials of Central Committee plenums, and in a number of other party documents. The setting of tasks for restructuring in the economy and the political, social, and spiritual spheres of society would be impossible without reliance on theory and ideological substantiation.

In the documents linked with the 70th anniversary of October we have tried to make an objective and balanced assessment of the path traveled by the Soviet people and to answer the many complex questions that are worrying Soviet people. But now—and this should be stressed—there is a persistent feeling that we need to approach these issues with an eye to new demands and to work on them thoroughly.

It is the party—fully armed with a scientific knowledge of the past, the present, and trends that have a real prospect of development—that must be charged with the processes of shaping a socialist consciousness in society. It is the party that can and must theoretically illuminate the new stage of socialist building with an eye to all the innovations that restructuring is bringing to it. It is the party that must select and place at the service of all society anything that really serves socialism, accords with the interests of its development, and advances us toward socialist rather than some kind of alien, "borrowed" goals.

We were led to the need for restructuring, of course, primarily by the desire to resolve the most urgent problems produced by the stagnation of the preceding period. But the more extensively restructuring is disseminated, the more understandable its overall purport and fateful importance for socialism becomes.

The understanding has grown up today that restructuring is an objectively necessary stage in the development of Soviet society, the essence of which is the transition to a qualitatively new condition of society. We must ensure radical changes in production forces and production relations, the revolutionary renewal of social and political structures, and the growth of society's spiritual and intellectual potential. We are striving, in present-day conditions, to revive the Leninist nature of the new system, cleanse it of accretions and deformations, and rid ourselves of everything that has fettered society and prevented it from fully realizing the potential of socialism; and, most importantly, to endow the socialist society with a new quality in the light of all the realities of the modern world.

The essence of socialism lies in establishing the power of the working people and giving priority to the good of the individual, the working class, and all the people. Ultimately socialism's task is to put an end to the social alienation of the individual which is characteristic of the exploitative society, alienation from power, from the means of production, from the results of his labor, from spiritual assets.

The October Revolution opened the way to the resolution of this historic task. Fundamental steps of crucial significance were the establishment of working people's power, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. These are the fundamental gains of socialism.

Throughout the last 70 years our party and people have been inspired by the ideas of socialism and have been building it. But by virtue of both external and internal factors we were unable to realize sufficiently fully the Leninist principles of the new social system. This was seriously hampered by the personality cult, the administrative decree system of management which grew up in the thirties, bureaucratic, dogmatic, and voluntarist distortions, tyranny, and in the late seventies and early eighties lack of initiative and retarding phenomena leading to stagnation. These phenomena and what is left of them in our times must recede irreversibly into the past.

That is the answer to those who express doubt as to whether we are deviating from socialism, from its basic foundations laid by generations of Soviet people. No, we are not deviating by a single step from socialism, from Marxism-Leninism, from everything the people have

won and created. But we are resolutely renouncing the dogmatic, bureaucratic, and voluntarist legacy, because it has nothing in common either with Marxism-Leninism or with true socialism.

Creative Marxism-Leninism is the unfailingly objective, profoundly scientific analysis of living, developing reality; critical analysis, evading nothing, concealing nothing, fearing no truth. Only that kind of analysis works for socialism. There are and can be no restrictions on the truly scientific quest. Questions of theory cannot and should not be resolved by decrees of any kind. A free competition of minds is needed. Our social thinking can only gain from this, its prognostic capacity will be augmented, and that means its ability to serve as a reliable basis for the elaboration of party policy.

Marxism-Leninism is the scientific base for the party approach to the study of social development and the practice of communist building; an approach whose innermost characteristics are the humanism of its objectives, the creative principle, objectivity and honesty in assessing reality, high exactingness toward oneself, and self-criticism. We want to really study and interpret our achievements and the problems that have accumulated, and to learn lessons for our work in the conditions of the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society. It is for this reason that we are looking so searchingly at our Soviet past; this is why questions of history concern us so greatly.

What do we have in mind when we speak of creating an authentic, objective history of the party and Soviet society? This question does not amount solely to naming names, paying tribute to those who were undeservedly forgotten, although that is an important, integral, and, I would say, human part of this vast work. The point is to write a truthful and complete history which will be the history of the people's life and struggle. That is the fundamental question of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of historical research.

If we are to follow this methodology, it is necessary to show graphically how millions of people lived and worked, what they believed in, what combination there was of victories and failures, discoveries and errors, the bright and the tragic, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and violations of socialist legality, and sometimes crimes. That will be a scientific, materialist view of history as the result of the activity of the people's masses. It will be a dialectical interpretation of history, rejecting one-sidedness, examining history in all its diversity, complexity, and contradiction, without the hypertrophied overemphasis of individual aspects.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of society's history presupposes persistent, intensive, and critical mental effort. That takes time, talent, and a sense of responsibility. One can understand the public's impatience, the desire to take a look at the closed pages of our past soon. Nonetheless that cannot justify hasty statements or hurried assessments, which can only lead to superficial conclusions that do not reflect the full complexity of the processes that took place. It is impermissible to release to the broad public, instead of really scientific research, rush jobs that are more likely to obscure the truth than to illuminate it. We must guard against this.

The Central Committee and the editorial offices of the mass media receive many letters from people who are worried about the one-sided, subjectivist assessments of our history that have appeared recently. People write as warmly and passionately about events of half a century ago as they do about today's problems, and there is nothing surprising about that. We are talking about something crucial for us—the attitude to socialism, the understanding of socialism, how it could happen that alongside the people's heroic achievements, crimes against them were also possible.

What can one say about this question, a question that is difficult for all of us? It is necessary to distinguish between the essential manifestations of socialism and distortions of it, between what arises from objective causes and what is generated by the subjective factor. It is most unfortunate that the conclusive study of our history from this standpoint was not taken to its conclusion immediately after the 20th CPSU Congress. Later people tried to avoid these difficult questions entirely. But there cannot be a vacuum in ideological life. It was filled either by primitive myths or by totally alien ideology. The main thing today is to create the conditions for tranquil, objective work and ensure glasnost for this work, which, among other things, will promote the active participation of the people themselves in discussing questions of our history, and thus promote the people's education, their development of a correct historical awareness.

Comrades, I wish to stress yet again that attention to our history is dictated not merely by interest in the past. It is vitally necessary for our work today, for the resolution of the tasks of restructuring. We have proclaimed the slogan: "More socialism!"—and we must see what values and principles should today be considered really socialist.

Socialism has scaled historic new heights of renewal. Consequently everything is being renewed, both theory and practice. Restructuring is at one and the same time the result of all our preceding socioeconomic and spiritual development, and a kind of phase of "negating negation," in which we are ridding ourselves of everything that had become a brake. Restructuring, if you take its spiritual dimensions, is a crucial attempt fully to restore in everyone's eyes the enormous significance of socialist values, chief among which is orientation toward the working person. We must remove from the values and ideals of socialism the rust of bureaucracy, cleanse

them of everything inhuman that people had tried to substitute for them, release people's best, creative forces, and ensure the spiritual flourishing of the individual.

Restructuring offers society ideas capable of really uniting and rallying people not by lining them up evenly as if for a parade, but on the basis of the diversity of human potential, desires, interests, and capabilities. Restructuring counts on the knowledge, intelligence, and experience of every person, on the best human qualities. It opens up the maximum opportunities for people's education through life, through personal experience of participation in social transformations. And it not only opens up these opportunities; it demands that they be utilized to real effect. That is, in fact, the essence of restructuring.

How are things going at present in this main avenue of restructuring? People are learning practical economics, learning democracy and glasnost, and not merely learning passively, but really participating in the mastery of new methods of economic management. At party meetings, through debates and conflicts of opinion in the mass media, and in their own life people are coming to understand what restructuring is, what actions it demands from them personally in the specific conditions in which they live and work.

Life itself constantly presents people with a choice. What forms should be chosen in organizing the work of the team or shop, the entire collective of the enterprise? How should labor be paid, who should be chosen as leader, who should be entrusted with what? How should relations with associates be organized? What attitude should be adopted to the new phenomena in public life, literature, and art? Or to phenomena which are old, but of which unfamiliar facets are now being illuminated? There are many such questions, and they face people daily. Today the need to choose is stimulating people's activeness and independence, their opinions and actions. Perhaps there is still much here that is contentious and alien. But a sound basis, the just resolution of pressing problems, and a normal daily life in accordance with the principles of socialism are having their effect.

The main thing, comrades, is democratization. This is a decisive means of achieving the aims of restructuring. Democratization accords with the very essence of the Leninist concept of socialism. It enables our society to achieve the ideals for which the October Revolution was carried out. The entire party must have a clear understanding that only through democratization is it possible to involve the human factor to the full in the profound transformations of all aspects of society's life, in the real processes of management and self-management. Only through democratization and glasnost can an end be put to the deep-rooted apathy and a powerful boost be given to the working people's sociopolitical activeness. Only through the committed and conscious participation of the working people themselves in all society's affairs is it possible to realize socialism's humanist goals.

Today we are profoundly conscious how much we have lost in the past by not fully assimilating—in theory, and still more so in practice—the entire fruitfulness of Lenin's ideas, intentions, and practical recommendations concerning Soviet socialist democracy. This, comrades, should be stressed, because to this day it is possible to meet with people who shudder to see the scale of the democratization processes. Some people are nervous, and warn us: Let us hope democracy does not lead to chaos. But take a closer look—what are these people worried about? Not about problems that are of vital importance to society. Rather, they are fussing about their own selfish interests. For party members, of all people, and especially among the leadership personnel, that standpoint is totally unacceptable.

Just as in other matters, the party must set an example of democracy. I am not saying this without reason. We are aware how difficult it is to overcome one of the old, deep-rooted vices—the adherence of party committees and their apparatuses to command methods, to trying to dictate to all and sundry, to take all the decisions. What means do people not resort to! In some party organs telephone conferences, for instance, are so popular that in some months they hold up to 40 of them. They finish one at 11 o'clock at night, and at 8 o'clock in the morning they start another. So it continues, day in, day out. What good does it do? Rayon officials have commented with bitter irony that an "obkom-rayon" telephone link has only one disadvantage—you cannot actually see the raykom first secretary saluting and clicking his heels.

Numerous attempts persist to contain glasnost and democracy within suitable limits, to take the press in hand, to act without taking public opinion into account. In one place they put pressure on a "disturber of the peace" for daring to rebel against stagnation, mismanagement, and abuses. In another they try to curtail kolkhoz members' rights. In yet another they turn elections of a leader into a farce. Somewhere else again—ignoring people's views—they adopt decisions which run counter to people's vital interests and rights. Unquestionably, this is evidence of the habit, formed over many years by a considerable section of our cadres, of "holding all the reins in their hands," of acting as the highest authority in all matters and using pressure methods. Frankly speaking, they do not recognize any other methods. They are really worried by people's growing activeness.

However, we must grasp once and for all that during the new stage of restructuring the party can ensure its leading, vanguard role and inspire the masses to carry out deep transformations only by using democratic methods. We have lost and continue to lose a great deal through our inability to fully unleash people's initiative, creativeness, and independence. The biggest, most difficult, and at the same time most important task of restructuring lies precisely in this. Without exaggeration, everything hinges on it today.

No progress is possible without initiative, without creative people. This is all the more true of revolutionary changes. I am saying this because in practice a negative reaction to initiative, a rejection of initiative, can often be encountered. Furthermore, in many cases no effort is made to understand what is being proposed, and pretexts for snubbing the author of an initiative are deliberately sought. This is still quite a widespread phenomenon. We can no longer tolerate such a state of affairs. Otherwise restructuring will fail. We must grasp all this and make every effort to contribute to the development of initiative in society. There are tens of thousands of innovators in our country today, bold people, questing people, people with initiative who are not afraid to break new ground. We must ensure that tomorrow there are hundreds of thousands, and the day after tomorrow millions of them.

Socialism is a society of people with initiative. Indeed, socialism itself is the biggest initiative in history. In short, initiative is not an obstacle, it is not one of life's inconveniences, it is not a campaign; it is an invariable key precondition of progress.

In the development of the processes of democratization and glasnost a tremendous role belongs to party propaganda and agitation and the news media. Frankly speaking, comrades, we are still somehow mean, and sometimes more than modest in assessing the results of the great work which is being done by the great army of our propagandists, lecturers, and ideological workers. But it is through their words that the minds and hearts of people are won for the party's ideas, for the ideas of the renewal of society.

I must say that our newspapers, sociopolitical and arts journals, television, radio, lecture propaganda, and direct encounters with production pacesetters, with the "foremen" of restructuring have done and are doing a great deal to create a new atmosphere, to emancipate minds, to awaken interest in all aspects of restructuring, and to amass different opinions.

The press and television train the searchlight of glasnost on those who are deliberately or through thoughtlessness or inability opposing or hampering restructuring. They back the enthusiasts and disseminate their experience, they protect from injustices those who have launched themselves head-first into working in the new way, who are not affraid to make a mistake for the sake of the real cause, who are willing to take a risk, who feel personally responsible for imparting gathering momentum to restructuring.

I have already spoken at CPSU Central Committee meetings about our positive attitude to this work of the mass media. That does not mean, of course, that everything is all right in this sphere. The news media sometimes lack the skill to reflect the entire complexity and newness of the tasks that are being tackled by the party and the people. From time to time journals and newspapers fall down—they cannot resist the temptation of sensationalism, they publish superficial assessements of present and past events, and elements of cliquishness can be glimpsed. Despite the fact that the number of reports about the experience of restructuring in labor collectives, cities, rayons, oblasts, republics, and the center has increased, there are still not enough of them. Naturally, the process that is under way is complex and is advancing with difficulty, through questing. However, we will advance the cause of restructuring resolutely and firmly, analyzing its problems and positive results. The attention of the mass media must be focused on this.

Comrades! The process of democratization has sharply raised the question of the observance of laws in our society. Legal nihilism, which Lenin combated so mercilessly, became quite widespread under the conditions in which command methods were applied. After all, excessive centralism and administration by decree on the one hand and local interests on the other are in general difficult to reconcile with legality. They are more akin to the mentality of Shchedrin's town governor, who spent a long time hatching a draft law "to prevent the constraint of town governors by means of laws."

Restructuring puts up a strong democratic barrier in the way of total licence and overzealous administration and forces all organs and all cadres to constantly check their actions against the law. Many people have not yet gotten used to this. But they will have to. We must firmly steer the course toward consolidating the legal levers of restructuring and above all protect the Law on the State Enterprise and other economic reform legislation against being watered down by all kind of departmental instructions and regulations.

The course aimed at further deepening the democratization of society presupposes the consistent strengthening of socialist legality. People's power means the total and undivided triumph of laws which express people's will. Therefore I want to resolutely back the idea put forward at our plenum proposing that universal basic legal education be organized as an integrated, comprehensive statewide program involving all strata of the population and all our cadres at the center and at local level.

In general, comrades, we ourselves have clearly not yet grasped what far-reaching consequences the processes of democratization are having and will continue to have, or understood the entirely new light in which they raise questions concerning the activities of the party and the state and the life and work of all our country's citizens. Failing to recognize or underestimating the need for the resolute democratization of socialist society is tantamount to showing a lack of faith in the people and their commitment to socialism.

The revolutionary transformations also inevitably deeply affect questions of culture and society's spiritual life.

It was a joy to hear comrades raise this question so broadly and with such interest during the debates yesterday and today. Concern for enhancing the general cultural standards of the people has been very clearly audible at our plenum. Speakers referred to this in connection with the reallocation of time for the teaching of various school disciplines, the need to enhance the quality of secondary and higher education, and the needs of modern technical progress. It was also mentioned in connection with the role which literature, art, and artistic creation in general are now called upon to play, and in connection with the role of culture in everyday life and the implementation of party work. This formulation of the question is correct, because a bold, fearless approach to people and the readiness to discuss and to resolve any problems jointly with them is also a sign of the standard of culture of leaders at any level. Speakers at the plenum have said that there can be no democracy without culture. This is indeed so.

It is particularly important that comrades have linked the problem of culture with relations between nations and the nurturing of a sense of internationalism among the younger generation.

Even at the conception stage and on the eve of Great October it was clearly realized that there could be no socialism without culture or outside of culture. The implementation of Lenin's program of cultural revolution led our society to unprecedented heights of cultural progress and was one of its most important prerequisites.

At the present time, when we are resolving the tasks of the restructuring and renewal of socialist society and the broad development of democracy, problems of spiritual culture are to a large extent emerging in a new way. Their new aspect is determined by our present attitude to man and the fact that we are addressing man's real nature, potential, and needs: After all, man does not live by bread—or even by modern material wealth—alone. More than anything else he lives by truth and conscience, justice and freedom, morality and humanity. The contemporary stage of the development of socialism also poses the problems of culture in a new way: It is already clear today that socialism's renewal revives the attractive force of socialist values all over the world, cleansing them of the destructive consequences of stagnation, self-satisfaction, and spiritual immobility. They are also posed in a new fashion by the contemporary world—a world of unprecedented intensity of contacts, interaction, and exchanges in science, culture, and information; a world of daily and acute clashes and confrontation, but also a world of mutual enrichment through progressive universal values.

According to the old adage, a new cultural stratum builds up only on well tilled soil. Marxism itself emerged along the highway of world culture. Bolshevism incorporated the progressive humanist traditions of Russia's great culture. The wealth and humanity of the "old" culture—and we all know how highly it was valued by V.I. Lenin—constituted a major contribution to world civilization. It was on this culture that people who headed our revolution were brought up. Now we must boldly and energetically augment and expand the cultural stratum of restructuring, utilizing and developing all the spiritual wealth created by our predecessors.

In other words, Lenin's formulation of the task remains as important as ever: to enrich ourselves "through knowledge of the culture created throughout mankind's development." This is a manifestation of the dialectics of class and universal factors in today's specific conditions.

One of the main lessons we must learn from the past is the following: Since we are resolutely rejecting administrative edict methods in the economy, these methods are even less acceptable in society's spiritual progress. Democracy, trust in people, tolerance of the unusual and the exploratory, competence, benevolence, encouragement for initiative and innovation, support for talent—these are the key principles of party work in cultural matters, in the spiritual sphere of restructuring.

The party has firmly adopted the course of adopting a concerned, competent, and farsighted attitude to the processes now under way in our society's spiritual sphere, which are helping it to cleanse and enrich itself and to develop its moral strength and creative potential.

We are not talking about letting processes in the sphere just drift along, or about tolerating phenomena which are incompatible with our ideology and morals. Such a formulation of the question is unacceptable to us. The interests of the people, the interests of socialism—these are the guidelines of restructuring, including restructuring in the spiritual sphere.

The tasks of restructuring must be solved in such a way as to ensure the maximum possible incentive for people's initiative and independence and to overcome their passiveness, civic indifference, apathy, and lack of independent thinking, all of which are defects directly attributable to the bureaucratic style of leadership. It must be realized that braking forces also exist in the spiritual sphere. Here they may even be more powerful than anywhere else.

Yes, some people do find it easier, simpler, and more convenient to live by inertia. There are also people whose expectations are inordinately high, who would like to achieve changes at one fell swoop. But there are no miracles to be had. Our tasks are immense and complex. Restructuring means work, more work, and even more work; dogged, courageous, daily work. To realize this and to shoulder utmost responsibility for the success of restructuring means to take a step forward in spiritual development. Soviet people and the Soviet intelligentsia, realizing this, are confirming their responsiveness and their support for the party goals by practical deeds.

We are aware of and value the intelligentsia's contribution to restructuring, to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to the ideological and theoretical interpretation of our times, to the development of the country's social awareness, and to the artistic depiction of Soviet people's entire wealth of intentions, feelings, aspirations, and thoughts. I am confident that we will read, see, and hear works befitting our tempestuous time.

A unique feature of our culture is its multinational nature. We are used to talking about it often, but it does seem that we have not yet fully learned to value it. The USSR's peoples are linked by a common historical fate. This is the foundation of our brotherhood and kinship, which have withstood the most grueling trials. Our strength has its source in the free development of national cultures, enriched through the spiritual experience of fraternal peoples and all mankind.

True internationalism and true friendship among peoples are possible only in conditions of profound respect for the dignity, honor, culture, language, and history of every people and broad contacts among them. We must assist by all means the further expansion of contacts between national cultures, their mutual enrichment, their flowering and growth.

Soviet patriotism is our greatest asset. Any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism are incompatible with it. Nationalism, no matter what form it may take, is blind. Attempts at self-isolation only lead to a spiritual dead-end. The root system of Soviet patriotism draws nourishment from knowledge and awareness of the scale, grandeur, and the specifically human component of the socialist revolution, of the complete truth and heroism of the party's and the people's struggle for socialism and in defense of the socialist fatherland. At this point we approach a very important question—the unification, through revolution and Soviet power, of every people's national pride and national dignity with the internationalism of socialist society.

To put it briefly, at the present stage we must get down to some very substantive work on nationalities policy, along all avenues, both in theory and in practice. This is a most fundamental and most vital question facing our society. I think that we ought to devote a Central Committee plenum to the problems of nationalities policy.

I would like to join those comrades who, addressing the plenum, also spoke about the intolerability of any flirtation in cultural and ideological matters. Our actions in the cultural sphere—and maybe precisely there in the first place—must be guided by our Marxist-Leninist principles. Principles, comrades, must not be compromised on any pretext. According to Lenin, a principled policy is the most correct policy.

Comrades! The radical economic reform has presented us with many new problems, including ideological ones, demanding study and solution. Today we can say that this reform is spreading widely and encompassing virtually all spheres of the national economy. Mass assimilation of new methods of planning, self-financing, self-capitalization, and labor remuneration is under way. The organizational structures of management are being restructured. Another new feature of the economic situation is the fact that cooperatives and individual labor activity are gathering strength in various sectors. Essentially, the shaping of the socialist economy's cooperative sector is taking place on a new basis.

All this introduces substantial changes in the principles of administration and economic management, as well as in the organization of the entire system of economic relations. Now we can no longer rely on state charity, so to speak. People must rely primarily on their own strength, on the quest for more efficient economic solutions, on the broad introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, on high standards of cadres' skills and competence and of working people's initiative. We, comrades, are witnessing how people's attitude to work is changing. They are becoming more and more clearly aware of the value of labor and material resources and are coming to realize that high end results cannot be achieved without thrifty and efficient utilization of these resources. People are beginning to realize that today they cannot cope with the new tasks using the old approaches and the old attitudes to the performance of their obligations.

Of course, we are still only just embarking on the introduction of economic accountability. The system will be improved. There will be a switch to wholesale trading in means of production, the development of direct links and cooperative forms of activity, and a pricing reform. We will all have to do this, assimilate and consolidate it. But the introduction of economic accountability, even in its present form, has already given rise and is giving rise to a number of problems, encountering obstacles, and revealing various aspects of the inhibiting mechanism which have not yet been completely destroyed.

We have elucidated the basic reform issues and elaborated, discussed nationwide, and adopted the Law on the State Enterprise. Now it is necessary to act without the slightest deviation from what is laid down in it. But in practice we are still encountering the fact that both in the center and at local level people are frequently operating in the old way and are trying to drag the national economy along by the old methods.

In the center people are still clinging tenaciously to gross indicators, state orders reveal administrative meddling, and efforts are being made to turn economic methods of management into veiled forms of command management. In some cases targets are issued in contravention

of the Law on the State Enterprise, without regard for the opinion of labor collectives and without due account of the resource base and production capacities.

At the enterprise level, many have been unprepared for activity in conditions of economic accountability, inadequate use is being made of the great opportunities and extensive rights, and many economic cadres are biding their time, waiting for something to happen, and being slow to join in the work on assimilating the new management methods. The devotion to the old ways is so strong that even when there is an opportunity to obtain greater revenue by increasing the output of products that are in demand they do not do it, preferring a quiet life to greater material prosperity. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that in a number of cases all is not well with economic normatives. Nevertheless the main factors are the prevailing mentality, the policy of playing safe, and, at times, incompetence.

Of course, comrades, all these phenomena are to some extent understandable. After all, the real process of the transfer of enterprises to economic accountability has only just begun. It is understandable, but clearly it is necessary to give a timely warning that unless we overcome such sentiments and radically change attitudes toward the new methods of management things will go wrong.

The development of the cooperative movement, individual labor activity, and collective, family, and other contracts have also created many problems. Because not everything is running smoothly in this major task, there have been abuses, and here and there questions have been raised about whether it is lawful to apply these forms of management. In some cases this important socioeconomic process is being artificially checked.

What should one say here? We must gather experience in a quiet and businesslike way, banishing speculative tendencies and using above all economic, taxation methods, and, finally, glasnost. The only principle is the socialist principle: Cooperative and personal income must be earned income and be determined, as it is everywhere, by the quantity and quality of labor.

Considerable changes are also taking place in the improvement of the organizational structures of management. They are entirely opportune and necessary, because they are geared to overcoming a legacy of administrative command methods of economic leadership. But here too the old approaches are not surrendering without a fight at oblast, republic, and union level.

All this, comrades, gives rise to a complex situation, causes passions to seethe, intensifies the battle of opinions, and, frankly, creates a degree of tension in production relations and in the ideological sphere. Some people have fully accepted the changes that are taking place, are moving ahead confidently along the path of new management methods and reliance on people's initiative and enterprise, and are making their own creative contribution to the reform. Others appear not to want to be out of the general movement, but all they do is—to put it mildly—imitate and confine themselves to half-measures, which cannot be justified in any circumstances. Of course, it must be borne in mind that there are people who are essentially against reform, who are sabotaging the introduction of economic methods of management, and are doing their utmost to discredit them, using as a cover references to objective causes and even to the opinion of working people.

What can one say in this connection? We have set the implementation of radical economic reform as a major political task. The country's attainment of the heights of socioeconoimic progress depends on its success. There simply cannot be any deviations from it. In fact, there is nowhere to deviate to. Everyone must act vigorously and purposefully. We must not get bogged down half-way or somewhere at the start. We must go forward. It is on this basis that one should also assess the positions of all departments and party, soviet, and economic bodies, and if you like, the positions of labor collectives.

I want to take a broader view of this question. After all, economic reform is an integral aspect of the transformation and renewal of socialism as a social system and gives it more modern and more dynamic forms. It must create the necessary prerequisites and powerful stimuli for scientific and technical progress, combine the potential of the planned economy with people's personal interests, initiative, and enterprise, and give public ownership and management methods forms whereby people feel they are really in charge of production.

Scientific analysis and, indeed, practical experience have led us to firmly believe that all these tasks, essentially interrelated and forming a single entity, can be successfully solved by switching enterprises to the principles of economic accountability, self-capitalization, self-financing, and self-management. This is the way to harmonize the interests of society, the collective, and the individual, which guarantees the satisfaction of social needs and at the same time ensures commitment to the end results of production on the part of working people themselves. This is the way to eradicate the leveling and the parasitism which have done so much damage in the past. This is the way to solve social problems as quickly as possible, which again directly affects the individual and entire collectives and helps strengthen discipline and increase effectiveness. This is a realistic economic basis for deepening democracy, for working people's involvement in management, and for overcoming people's alienation from the economic process and its results.

At the stage of the extensive unfolding of the economic reform the question of social justice has become even more acute. You would think the problem was sufficiently clear—it is necessary to consistently follow the

path of strict observance of the chief principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." That is true. But in practice, and—it has to be said—in our ideas as well, we have far from shrugged off the leveling mentality.

It is really no secret that many people are still getting paid just for turning up at work and occupy positions without their actual labor contribution being taken into account. The most surprising thing is that not many people are bothered about this. But as soon as people in economically accountable collectives get a pay raise because of an increase in the end results of labor, there are immediate protests and expressions of annoyance: They are getting too much, they say. But under socialism the question can only be posed in the following way: Not "much" or "little," but "earned" or "not earned." There is also the point that the assessment of quantity and quality of labor must rest on scientifically substantiated criteria that have been proved in practice.

In general, comrades, we must really get down to tackling the problem of eradicating wage-leveling approaches. This an extremely important socioeconomic and ideological problem. Basically, wage-levelling has a destructive impact not only on the economy but also on people's morality and their entire way of thinking and acting. It diminishes the prestige of conscientious, creative labork, weakens discipline, destroys interest in improving skills, and is detrimental to the competitive spirit in work. We must say bluntly that wage-leveling is a reflection of petty bourgeois views which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or scientific socialism. We will not be able to progress further and cope with the tasks of restructuring if we do not completely eradicate wage-leveling views wherever they still persist.

Yes, socialism is a society of social guarantees which does not leave a person to face life's difficulties and adversities on his own. Soviet people's social protection is based on the elimination of private ownership and exploitation and on the power of the working people. The principle of social protection is enshrined in our laws and underpinned by many years of practical application. The most important social guarantees have been created in our country—the right to housing, guaranteed employment, and free education and medical treatment.

Despite all the shortcomings and deficiencies that exist here, the fundamental significance of these achievements is not in any doubt. However, the standard of social protection in our society depends on the magnitude of the national wealth and it, in its turn, depends on the correct, consistent application of the socialist principle "from each according to his abilities; to each according to his labor." In line with this principle, a person's well-being and living conditions are directly dependent on the application of his abilities and talent and his contribution to the common cause. This is the foundation of socialism's vitality. It depends on the talent and specific contribution of every working person to the country's social wealth. At the same time, we must put a decisive stop to any self-seeking impulses wherever they may become apparent. Only honest, conscientious labor within the bounds of our laws and existing norms can receive high material recompense and public recognition.

Comrades! We have great plans in the development of the economy. They are well known to you. But while putting all our effort into developing this large-scale work, we must not lose touch with the people's everyday needs and requirements.

Let me remind you that we began restructuring itself under pressure from urgent, vitally important problems. More than once I have had to return to an assessment of the situation which existed in our country at the beginning of the eighties. I would like to add a few more considerations. As you well know, the pace of economic development in our country had dropped and reached a critical point. But even the pace we had reached, as has since become clear, had been achieved to a considerable extent on an unhealthy basis, on the basis of short-term factors. I am thinking of our trade in petroleum on the world market on the basis of the high prices which existed at that time and also the completely unjustified accelerated sale of alcoholic beverages. If we purge economic growth indicators of the influence of these factors, it turns out that, basically, for four 5-year periods there was no increase in the absolute growth of the national income and, at the beginning of the eighties, it had even begun to fall. This is the real picture, comrades! Only now is the economy beginning to grow on a healthy basis.

We can still strongly feel the consequences of the situation which was taking shape in the past. Now, when the world market situation has changed and the price of fuel and energy resources has fallen and when, for the sake of preserving the population's social health, we have been forced to reduce the production and sale of wines and spirits, the country's economy has come up against a very serious financial problem. As a result of reducing the sale of alcohol, in the last 3 years the state has suffered a shortfall of more than R37 billion. In addition to this, in comparison to 1985, revenue in 1987 from the sale of imported goods, the purchase of which we have been forced to limit due to a shortage of hard currency, fell by R9 billion.

The situation which has developed demands enormous, I would say extraordinary, efforts by us in two directions simultaneously: in the implementation of radical economic reform and in improving the current economic situation and satisfying our people's vital needs.

As you will remember, we highlighted the top-priority problems from an entire range of issues at the Central Committee June plenum—the provision of food, housing, and essential goods and services for the population.

So how are our decisions being backed up by real actions on a national scale and at republic, kray, and oblast level? The party has to know this, comrades, and so must the people.

First of all the food situation. In the first 2 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan period the gross grain harvest increased by 17 percent. In comparison with the average annual output in the 11th 5-Year Plan period, meat production has increased by 2.1 million tonnes, or 13 percent; milk production by 8.2 million tonnes, or 9 percent; eggs by 7 billions, or 9.4 percent. There has been an increase, as you can see. It has ensured a certain improvement in the food supply situation. This has been achieved despite the reduction in the import of these products due to the fall in hard currency revenue. Nevertheless, the state of food resources does not satisfy us and we must work persistently to increase stocks. There are large reserves here, but they are employed in diverse ways.

On the one hand, there are a number of republics and oblasts where there has been an appreciable increase in agricultural output in recent years. For example, until quite recently agriculture in Orlov Oblast was seriously lagging behind in its development. But there have been improvements recently. Farms in the oblast have devoted a great deal of attention to the use of effective forms of labor organization and remuneration. Diverse forms of contracts are being employed virtually throughout the crop-growing sector: The collective contract, lease contract, family contract, and individual contract. The transition to contract principles in livestock breeding is drawing to a close. Greater attention than before is being given to the social development of rural areas. Last year laggard farms in the oblast commissioned an average of 50-100 apartments, 40 extra places in schools, and 43 extra places in children's preschool institutions. This has resulted in an improvement in the cadre situation in rural areas and has created the conditions for improving productivity in crop farming and livestock breeding. As a result, in 1986-1987 the gross agricultural output increased in comparison to the average annual level in the previous 5-year plan period by 18 percent and labor productivity by 27 percent. Thanks to production in excess of the plan, in the last 2 years the sale of meat for local supply increased by 33 percent and the sale of milk products by 17 percent. The people can really feel the effects of the restructuring process being carried out.

Unfortunately, work is being carried out in this way far from everywhere. Field and livestock unit productivity and farm economic efficiency remain low in Armenia and in Novosibirsk, Voronezh, Yaroslavl, Kirovograd, Kostroma, and Rostov Oblasts. Owing to laggardness in dairy livestock raising, people there did not even cope with the planned deliveries of milk for local supply. The same happened in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Chechen-Ingushetia, and Odessa and Chardzhou Oblasts with the supply of meat.

In order to change the situation, it is necessary to resolutely overcome freeloading and the desire of many local leading cadres to resolve questions of the food supply by means of more and more new requests to the center. What is the chief thing here? It is necessary to stop the bureaucratic administration and ordering about of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is important to open up broad scope for resourceful, enterprising activity by working people in the agrarian sector and make active use of all efficient forms of labor organization and remuneration: collective, leasing, and family contracts within kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as new approaches within the framework of rayon agroproms.

About housing construction and some questions of the social sphere's development: As you know, measures have been adopted and are being implemented for the accelerated resolution of the tasks facing us here. The first results of the work are as follows: In 1987 approximately 130 million square meters of housing was constructed using all sources of finance, which was almost 2.5 million square meters more than planned and 10 million square meters above the 1986 results. It was more than in any previous year. During last year alone there were increases of 18 percent in the commissioning of premises for general educational schools, 7 percent for preschool establishments, 61 percent for vocational and technical schools, 17 percent for medical centers, and 36 percent for clubs and culture centers.

I have already spoken about the searches and finds in housing construction in the Kazakh SSR. Kazakh construction workers worked well last year. They fulfilled the annual program by the 70th anniversary of Great October. As a result, one family in every five waiting in line received an apartment. Such successes make it a realistic prospect to resolve the new task of providing housing by 1991 for all the republic's working people who had registered by the beginning of 1987.

Multifaceted work on developing the social sphere is being done in Estonia. The outlined plans are being fulfilled there on a stable basis year after year, and the highest housing provision in the country has been achieved—something promoted to a considerable degree by skillful use of the population's means. Another important task is being resolved systematically—that of having a school, a creche-kindergarten, a club, and a diner on every farm in the countryside and constructing them in a modern manner and to a high standard. I particularly wish to emphasize that the Estonian construction workers' successes are founded on the preferential development of their own material and technical base.

At the Central Committee June plenum, as you will remember, the leaders of many republics and oblasts were criticized for laggardness in housing construction. Such phenomena are still occurring. Housing and social

construction is being carried out only slowly in Tajikistan and in a number of regions of the RSFSR, particularly Gorkiy, Novosibirsk, Penza, Ryazan, and Chita Oblasts and Dagestan.

What is happening? What are the main reasons for laggardness? If you bear in mind that the starting conditions are practically identical for everyone, the answer to this question must be sought, first of all, in relapses into an old disease—discrepancy between talk and action. Good programs are being drawn up everywhere, but far from everywhere is their implementation backed up by the necessary organizational and economic work.

The Central Committee Politburo recently examined and approved the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on developing individual housing construction in cities and rural localities. The outlined measures abolish the unjustified restrictions which existed in the past and create favorable conditions for providing credit and constructing individual houses. All this must provide weighty support in realizing our social programs. It is a case of local organs' devoting the necessary attention to individual builders and giving them the necessary assistance.

In general, comrades, multifaceted measures are being taken, as you see, and they must be utilized more actively today in order to resolve the housing problem more quickly and create better living conditions for Soviet people. Let us be uncompromising in our assessments, comrades: Nonfulfillment of housing and sociocultural construction plans is unforgivable and totally unjustifiable. Instances of failure to meet targets must be publicized everywhere, and those guilty of wrecking an important social program must shoulder their responsibility to the working people.

The state of affairs with regard to production of goods and the rendering of services to the population arouses serious concern. Measures to accelerate the development of consumer goods production are yielding certain results. Over the past 2 years production of industrial consumer goods increased by R16.5 billion, or 9.4 percent, including R3.3 billion or 4 percent in light industry. Yet the situation in the consumer market remains strained, and the population's effective demand is not being satisfied. Last year industry produced consumer goods worth R3.6 billion less than envisaged in the plan. Here enterprises of union ministries accounted for a large part of the output shortfall, particularly products made to modern technical standards in increased demand. There were hardly any tangible changes for the better in the quality of consumer goods. The material and technical base for expanding services to the population is being built up particularly slowly.

Without relieving sectoral ministries of responsibility, the radical restructuring of the country's economic management is shifting the center of gravity of practical work on satisfying people's needs for goods and services and ensuring a balance between the population's money income and expenditure precisely into the republics, krays, and oblasts. Attempts to avoid participating in resolving these vitally important problems on any pretexts must receive a sharp assessment.

Obviously, we must also give thought to this question: How perfect is the economic mechanism we have adopted for encouraging labor collectives and sectors to increase consumer goods production? Especially as the attempts to resolve the problem of the quantity and quality of goods and services by methods of bureaucratic administration alone have so far had little effect. We have no reason to be afraid to acknowledge the blunders that have been made here. On the contrary, the more quickly they are noted and rectified, the better and more quickly we will secure a return. Just one demand must remain unchanged: Problems must be resolved quickly and not "shelved."

Perhaps, having listened to this part of the speech, some of you will be wondering: But what bearing does this, in fact, have on the ideological aspects of restructuring? I believe that there is a direct link here—the way our people feel, their consciousness, their mood, and their attitude to work, to party policy, to restructuring largely depend on how these tasks are resolved.

Comrades! Our economic reform, the development of the processes of democratization and glasnost, the renewal of the spiritual and moral sphere, that is, everything we associate with the concept of revolutionary restructuring are links in a single chain. They are closely interconnected and interdependent and demand that, having begun restructuring in one of them, we continue it in another.

So we have now approached quite naturally and, I would say, logically the need to restructure our political system. Of course, it is not a question of replacing the existing system but of introducing qualitatively new structures and elements into it and imparting to it new substance and dynamism which will ensure our society's successful development. These questions are already being discussed widely and actively in the country. This is no coincidence. Restructuring runs deep. It must embrace all spheres and, of course, the very important sphere of the political system of society.

As I have already said, we still have substantial work to do on these questions before the 19th party conference. The main problem of the development of our political system is the creation of the kind of mechanism of authority and management which would clearly establish effective democratic control and formulate the appropriate legal procedures which would substantially reduce and even eliminate the element of chance in the solution of the most important political and state questions and exclude the possibility of subjectivism at all "levels" of

our political system. It is necessary to ensure that principled decisions are formulated and adopted with the active involvement of the people. This will also promote our socialist democracy.

Above all what we must be talking about here is radically enhancing the role of the soviets as the pivot of our society's political system and its state embodiment. It is precisely here, in the formation and functioning of the soviets, that socialism's democratic principles are to be realized first and foremost. In a certain sense we speak today about the need to revive the power of the soviets as Lenin understood it. Soviets at all levels must be really working, resourceful, and full-powered centers of state power and administration.

This clearly means that better thought must be given to the way in which soviets are formed. Thus it is necessary to improve our electoral system so that the process of forming the organs of power ensures the active participation of the people and the careful selection of people capable of supporting the soviets' activity in the light of the tasks of restructuring. Soviets must take account of the full diversity of our country, including its national characteristics. Of course, we must not overlook the USSR Supreme Soviet's activity. Its role must be considered anew with regard to intensifying the effectiveness of work, from the Presidium and its sessions to the activity of commissions and deputies.

A fundamental question of political reform is the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs. Here, too, Lenin's ideas must be the basis. The party's directing and leading role is the essential condition for the functioning and development of socialist society. The party is responsible for the theoretical development and adjustment of the political course. It conveys its policy to the masses, organizes and unites them to implement the tasks set, and pursues the appropriate cadre policy. Properly speaking, these are the basic functions of the party as society's political vanguard. In the restructuring and democratization pertaining today, Lenin's teaching on the party and its activity in socialist conditions must be completely regenerated. We must take well thought out and collectively elaborated proposals on these questions to the all-union conference.

It is impossible to imagine the political system that is being created without a developed system of social organizations or a fundamental change in the content and methods of their work. It must be based on the understanding that each social organization is backed by certain social strata with their own specific features and interests. The task is not to reduce them all to the same level but on the contrary to highlight them as much as possible, take them into account, and place them at the service of social progress. The main task of social organizations is to develop sociopolitical activeness, to satisfy diverse interests, and to give citizens social self-management skills.

I believe that we must make it our aim in social organizations to eliminate the domination of paid functionaries, overorganization, and bureaucracy by transferring part of the powers of central organs to lower levels, and to free organizations at lower levels from the need to coordinate every step with the apparatus at a higher level.

There is a perceptible need to develop the system of social structures and the formation of a number of social organizations which unite people on the basis of various social, professional, and other interests. Clearly it is necessary to broaden the range of questions which state organs can resolve only if social organizations are involved.

The socialist democratic system is a diversity of forms of social and political life based, naturally, on our socialist principles and values, and the decisions which, in our view, the party conference ought to take should be based on that idea.

This also applies to questions of national relations and national-state building. We are talking now about the growth in national self-awareness among all the country's nations and ethnic groups and about manifestations of national sentiments (often manifested in a deformed state). These questions are alive today and must be resolved. Thought must also be given to the forms of the further development of ties between republics and the strengthening of their rights, including in terms of representation on central state organs.

As you can see, many problems have built up. There can be no half measures here. Clearly we face a task of preparing for the upcoming party conference detailed proposals on the improvement of the political system which are based on the ideas of the 27th party congress and Central Committee plenums on the socialist self-management of the people and take account of the democratization processes taking place in society.

Now, comrades, for some international aspects of the ideology of restructuring.

Having endured and interpreted with hearts and minds the experience and lessons of the past we have set ourselves the task of understanding, studying, and investigating the society in which we live. We have posed the question in the international sphere in exactly the same terms: To understand, investigate, and study the world in which our country lives. After an objective analysis we realized the need for restructuring and the new political thinking. Thereby a breakthrough was achieved in the scientific understanding of present-day realities, which was transformed into an innovative and dynamic policy.

Even before the party congress, in the 15 January 1986 Statement, we proclaimed a program for advancing toward a world without nuclear weapons as an indispensable condition for mankind's survival. The 27th CPSU

Congress provided a detailed interpretation of the philosophy of peaceful coexistence as we move from the old to the new century and validated the concept of an all-embracing system of peace and international security. Our initiatives in the disarmament sphere and other concrete steps in the international arena are now no longer improvization, not simply a reaction to given Western political moves and actions as often happened before. They were given a firm, long-term scientific basis.

Thus the path was laid to Geneva, then to Reykjavik, and finally to Washington for the signing with the United States at summit level of the first nuclear weapons reduction agreement ever—the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. I believe that when assessing its significance we all agree that it really does confirm the correctness of the policy begun by the April 1985 Plenum validated in theoretical and political terms at the 27th congress. We say that the treaty signed in Washington marks the beginning of real disarmament. We want it to be that way, and we will work to ensure that it continues.

But it is also the result of the efforts of the struggle by the socialist countries, other progressive and peace-loving states, mass social movements, the United Nations, and the Nonaligned Movement against the nuclear threat. It is the result of the activity, consolidation, and mutual understanding of outstanding scientists, cultural figures, clergymen. It is also the consequence of the sensible and effective stance taken by many politicians, representatives of the business world, and military circles.

In its way the treaty indicates the potential for peace that has now been attained. It also demonstrates that the new thinking is not only capturing people's minds but has already begun to influence world policy. The elaboration of the treaty provides instructive experience. It showed the fruitfulness of equal if difficult and strenuous talks in which mutual interests and concerns were scrupulously taken into account.

However, the signing of the treaty is not a pretext for complacency or smugness. We can say that it has opened up another stage in the struggle for disarmament and peace—and that includes another stage in the ideological struggle. Very soon after the first few days of euphoria the enemies of the normalization of relations with the USSR started "sounding assembly," mobilizing their forces for a campaign against the ratification of the treaty. The U.S. Administration is keeping its word and defending the treaty. But at the same time it is giving the nod to extreme right-wingers in their anti-Soviet, anti-communist rhetoric, not only in words, but in definite militarist-style deeds on the same pretext of the "growing Soviet threat." We have again encountered provocations on our borders. The atmosphere that prevailed during my U.S. visit clearly did not suit some people.

The tone of militarist activity in the European sector of NATO has noticeably increased. They are rushing to organize "compensation" for the missiles due to be eliminated under the treaty. They are planning to modernize and build up "other" types of nuclear arms, particularly at sea and in the air, cynically stating that these are not covered by the treaty. We have again heard a categorical "no" from London, Paris, and NATO Headquarters in Brussels to the abandonment of nuclear weapons, even in the distant future. Words of approval for the treaty and the Soviet-U.S. talks on reducing strategic arms are accompanied by statements that France and Britain are by no means planning to stop building up nuclear weapons. On the contrary; following the signing of the treaty the NATO states have been demonstrating heightened activeness in the sphere of bilateral and multilateral military integration.

The positive statements from high-ranking figures about our restructuring are again interspersed with waffle about the "expansion of communism" and warnings that it should not, allegedly, be forgotten "who we are dealing with" and that, since the present Soviet leadership is not about to change its system, this calls into question its "diplomacy of smiles." Again they are fussing about the senselessness of any talks with the USSR, since it allegedly "cannot be trusted" at all. A consolidation of reactionary and extreme anti-Soviet forces is under way. All manner of "analysts" and Kremlin-watchers make appalling recommendations to governments, poison the minds of the public, and try to scare them with the "catastrophic" consequences for the West if the disarmament process is continued.

Attempts to switch the ideological struggle on the issues of restructuring and disarmament to our territory and our environment have been stepped up. "Radio voices" spread provocative fabrications—about an increasingly acute struggle within Soviet society or the Soviet leadership, and about the emergence and growth of "opposition" to restructuring and the CPSU's foreign policy course. They want to sow a lack of confidence and faith in our ability to achieve the goals set by the party. The centers of antisocialist provocations are not just doing this with regard to the Soviet Union—we can clearly see that. They are hastening to develop new forms of subversive work against other socialist countries where the dynamic processes of the further improvement of socialism are also under way. They use specific methods for each country in order, so to speak, to take account of specific national features in their activity.

We know why they are worried. Not only because disarmament threatens the profits of the military-industrial complex and the income of those who make a good living out of it. But also because they are scared of a rebirth of the appeal of socialist ideas and an upsurge in the prestige of socialism as a society of working people. They are scared that there will again be growing sympathy for our country and that the Soviet Union will be "rediscovered."

All this undermines the "enemy image" and, consequently, the ideological foundations of anti-Soviet and imperialist policy. Things that served the reactionaries so well over the last few decades are being destroyed. That is why the "right wing" is unhappy about the innovative and peace-loving policy of the USSR. That is why they want to halt the momentum of disarmament, which is picking up speed. We must see all this and take appropriate measures in our ideological work and propaganda.

Comrades! Steps toward the solution of the Afghan problem are another significant international event, in parallel with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, in the period since the preceding Central Committee plenum. For a long time now this problem has had a profound and direct effect on Soviet people's feelings and our entire society.

Following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the Politburo conducted a hard and impartial analysis of the position and started even at that time to seek a way out of the situation. But the practical solution of problems which would allow us to unravel the main knots of this most complex regional conflict proved to be a far from simple matter. Possibilities of achieving this emerged following the appearance of genuinely national forces headed by Najibullah on the political stage in Afghanistan in late 1986. There also emerged external prerequisites for settling the conflict in such a way as to leave Afghanistan an independent, neutral, and nonaligned state. This conforms with the interests of the Afghan people. It also conforms with our own state interests.

You are familiar with the statement published 10 days ago. It actually says everything—how we will act and what we expect. It was greeted with understanding and approval by our people, our allies and friends, and broad circles of the world public. As for those who intend to continue exploiting the Afghan problem for selfish purposes, the statement presents them with new realities which they will have to take into account. The coming months will show the true position of all parties involved in the political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan.

Of course, comrades, our involvement in the Afghan conflict is a highly complex problem touching on many aspects of what we have to overcome in the course of restructuring and the consistent transformation of the new thinking into practical policy. But the main point now is that the Politburo is acting on this issue, too, in strict conformity with the principled line of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Generally, it ought to be said that both the scientific elaboration of the problems of the new thinking and their ideological substantiation are still at their initial stage. There is plenty of work to be done here in an atmosphere of expanding glasnost. Soviet people display a natural desire to look into everything themselves, to gain a better understanding of what is happening, and even more so to become knowledgeable participants in the nationwide struggle against the danger of war and in international contacts.

This is precisely why all necessary conditions are being created for decisively raising the informative and intellectual standards of foreign policy propaganda and of explanatory work and comments on international issues. This is a very important sector of our ideological activity, because some people are somewhat confused in understanding the essence of the new thinking, just as they are about our ideas and changes on the domestic front. This is no wonder: The problems are rather important, they will only grow bigger, and a struggle is being waged around them.

We are witnessing and participating in an unprecedented phenomenon, a kind of paradox created by the great dialectics of world history. The accelerated internationalization of many processes on a worldwide scale is accompanied by the large number and variety of options for the national and regional development of countries and peoples. But both work to consolidate the world's integrity. These matters still have to be assimilated in theory and translated into policy. Here is a task, both theoretical and practical, which has many ramifications.

We have countered the militarist doctrine which underlies the policy of strength with the concept of "balance of interests" and mutual equal security. Our state interests do not run contrary to the interests of the peoples and the masses of working people in any other society. Unless peace is preserved there will be no progress at all, and it would be senseless to talk about anyone's interests outside the solution of this task. The struggle to exclude war from international politics is a struggle to save millions of lives, primarily the lives of working people who would suffer from any war before anybody else and more than anybody else. The establishment of normal, businesslike relations with states from the opposite system, apart from anything else, would shake anti-Sovietism and therefore anticommunism, thus diminishing reactionary pressure against democratic gains and aspirations.

The elimination of militarism—the question we have raised keenly and are approaching in a businesslike, realistic manner—not only helps to curb the most reactionary forces but also promises an increase in jobs everywhere. Alongside the immediate advantages to working people this will lead to the expansion of the economically and socially active section of the working mass, the social base of democracy and progress.

The struggle for a new world economic order and for the overcoming of the flagrant crisis phenomena in the Third World ultimately means creating conditions for a human existence for new millions of people of entire

continents and their inclusion in historical creation. That is a very important factor of world progress, independent development, and revolutionary transformations.

The complexities of world processes and the unpredictability of the shifts and turns of world politics, the dimensions and extraordinary nature of the peace offensive we have undertaken and which has met with unprecedented international response, the resistance of powerful forces which objectively have no interest in peaceful coexistence and, finally, the need to be understood correctly—all this raises not only our political but also our theoretical responsibility by an entire order of magnitude. The fundamental theoretical question currently facing both Marxists and their opponents is the question of combining class-based and general human principles in real world development and consequently in politics.

The report on the 70th anniversary of October set forth principled provisions on this score. A fundamental problem was posed: Is it possible at the present stage, with the interdependence and homogeneity the world has achieved by the end of the 20th century, to exert on the nature of imperialism influence of a kind which would block its most dangerous manifestations? The criteria have been outlined for the competition between different social systems as have the opportunities for their coexistence in forms which would rule out universal catastrophe. Our social science has begun to embark more boldly on an analysis of the features and basic signs of our era.

The enormous mass of the world public regards our restructuring as a boon to all mankind and treats positively, even sympathetically, the transformations which we have begun and our foreign policy, and many people are openly and actively supporting this policy. Throughout the world we have regenerated hope for the future. That is a big moral capital. We must treasure it, and justify the trust which we can feel everywhere. That is one aspect of the matter, an aspect directly linked with the human factor but rooted in the objective processes of the present day.

The other aspect consists of the substantial changes which monopoly capital and the society in which it rules have undergone. In addition completely new factors have appeared which have acquired decisive significance for present-day world development: the nuclear threat, the unprecedented social and international consequences of the revolution in science and technology, the ecological danger common to all, the fundamentally different situation in the sphere of information and all forms of communication. The aggravation of global problems, the realization of the need for international cooperation in resolving them—all this is working in favor of peace and disarmament. The results of the terrible experience of fascism and World War II continue to exert steady psychological influence on people in many countries.

All this is altering the correlation between the "party of war" and the "party of peace" within the framework of monopoly capitalism and its international political superstructure, between, as Lenin put it, the "crude bourgeois, aggressive bourgeois, reactionary bourgeois" and "pacifist camp" of the ruling class in the West. In brief, the international conditions under which we have entered a very important new phase of our revolution differ substantially from what existed at its previous stages.

The new thinking is the correct understanding of the new realities subjected to analysis by the method of materialist dialectics. It is conclusions drawn from this analysis and checked against revolutionary Leninist experience and the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. I should also stress that the new thinking is based on Lenin's theory of imperialism, on V.I. Lenin's study of the nature of imperialism, which will never become "good." We have not had and do not have any illusions on this question.

The central link of the new thinking is the new role of general human values. K. Marx and V.I. Lenin indicated their importance. These were not merely general considerations stemming from the humanitarian basis of their teaching. In stressing the importance of the processes of internationalization taking place in the world, our great teachers revealed the objective basis of general human values, dialectically uniting them with socioclass values. Now all this is becoming the pivotal line of practical policy. This demand on policy is conditioned by both the negative and the positive processes of the present-day era: on the one hand by the growth of the unprecedented dangers to the very existence of the human race and on the other by the increase in the role of the masses and the general democratic factor in internal state and world politics.

this also requires substantially different international relations. What relations precisely? What should be the initial and absolute principle in these relations? We have named it. We have spoken of it out loud and we do not cease to repeat it to everyone—from the U.S. President to our friends who are fighting for national independence and socialism. This principle is the recognition of freedom of social and political choice by each people and each country. This way of putting the question also contains no trace of utopianism or illusions. We are very well aware that diplomatic courtesies and propaganda will not convince the West of the need to recognize this principle.

Of course, we must in no way belittle the importance of our goodwill, of the new style of our international activity, of our desire for frank and fruitful dialogue for the sake of attaining that minimum of trust possible between representatives of opposing social systems, of our sincere rejection of the ideologization of interstate

relations, of our readiness for compromise on an equal basis, without detriment to anyone's security—in brief, everything characterizing Soviet foreign policy in the period of restructuring.

But it is those very realities of the world today discussed above and reflected in the new thinking which are becoming—to an increasing extent the further we go—the main "educator" in the recognition of the peoples' right to live in their own way, without outside interference. Incidentally, it is precisely because this thinking correctly reflects the world that we consider it suitable not only for ourselves but also for the rest of the world. These realities force anyone to take stock of themselves inasmuch as ultimately the state is mankind's survival, the very existence of civilization.

The most important function, I would say the historical mission, of the forces of socialism, democracy, and progress, consists in expanding and consolidating realities and indeed creating new realities which would create an insuperable barrier to the forces of aggression and intervention.

We, the Soviet Union, are creating and consolidating these realities by our restructuring. I want to say once again that all our foreign policy achievements and the very business of preserving peace are rooted here—in the successes of restructuring, in our work, comrades. But it is important that all our people should also assimilate well the reverse link: The success of restructuring is impossible without a foreign policy based on the new thinking.

Comrades! It is in this dialectical interconnection between the internal and foreign policy aspects that the ideological problems of restructuring at its new stage appear to us. They are again—but with a power increased tenfold—turning our attention to a question which was raised so keenly a year ago at the Central Committee January plenum—the cadres question.

In organizational, political, and ideological activity, which is living, dynamic, and being actively restructured, there must now be no place for people like the Shchedrin character who said: "I don't understand new ideas. I don't even understand why they should be understood." It is a calamity when a contemporary of ours thinks like that. It is three times worse if a party member or a leader who belongs to the party is infected with such sentiments. Let me say again and again: An example of democracy must be set by the party and every Communist, irrespective of what post he may hold. Without this the democratization process will not move forward.

The party began restructuring with itself, with its cadres. A considerable amount has been done in party cadre work since the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. The main criterion by which we have been guided is people's attitude to restructuring. Reports by elected organs on their leadership of restructuring have just ended in all party organizations. The reports showed that Communists en masse do not wish to accept inactivity, irresponsibility, inertia, or indifferent attitudes toward restructuring and will not tolerate perpetrators of empty talk and loudmouths. In the course of the meetings the work of over 4,800 party committees and bureaus was deemed unsatisfactory and over 89,000 members of elected organs were replaced. This is the logical result of the creation in the party of an atmosphere of greater exactingness toward cadres for the cause of restructuring.

We must advance consistently along this path, which means tirelessly learning democratism, as the time of restructuring requires. Learning democratism is a difficult thing. But we have reliable guidelines and a reliable Leninist method for such learning.

It involves the fearless development of criticism and self-criticism.

It involves a consistent desire to be in the midst of the masses, in the midst of the most burning questions of life.

It involves garnering together the sentiments, needs, and vital interests of working people and all strata of society.

Finally, it involves asserting on a daily basis a Leninist, businesslike work style, whose main characteristic is reliance on the masses.

Of course, democratization must permeate all intraparty life—by increasing the role of elected organs and resolutely intensifying the combativeness of party organizations.

We have to remember that our party's leading role is not something given by somebody on high for all time but has been won by several generations of Communists and their selfless struggle for socialism and working people's interests. Today too—every day and every hour—we must confirm and affirm our right to be in the vanguard of the revolutionary renewal of society by persistent work for the sake of the people and the motherland.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like to note that a considerable amount has already been done in almost 3 years if you compare our present-day life with what it was before the beginning of restructuring. But very little has still been done if you compare it with what we expect from restructuring and what our society is capable of. Many difficult problems have to be resolved along the path toward a qualitatively new state of Soviet society.

We are approaching the 19th all-union party conference. Our task will be to analyze in detail the fundamental results of 3 years of living and working in the conditions of restructuring and particularly of the first months of the operation of the enterprise law; to determine what points our party and society have reached and are in the

process of reaching after having initiated the processes of democratization and begun the radical economic reform; to adopt specific decisions on the improvement of our political system and the party's role as the political vanguard at the new stage of the country's development. Powerful new impetus will thus be given to our revolutionary restructuring.

So a great deal of intensive work lies ahead. The volume of innovative ideas and proposals which have been emerging in the party and society recently is enormous. The pile of numerous specific questions is great and constantly growing.

How are they to be resolved? This is something we need to work on together, advancing step by step along the charted path. Our quest must be creative, bold, and at the same time businesslike and responsible; in a word, Leninist and bolshevist.

(The speech was listened to with great attention and accompanied by prolonged applause).

Comparison of Plenum Report

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 February carries in its Second Edition on page 1 an information report on the 18 February CPSU Central Committee Plenum proceedings. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service Russian version published in the 18 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 56, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph two, only sentence PRAVDA reads: ...USSR Academy of Sciences; Zorkaltsev, first secretary of... (correcting misspelled name)

Paragraph eight, only sentence PRAVDA reads: ...machine operator of Amangeldy Sovkhoz in the... (confirming place name)

Gromyko Decorates Afghanistan Hero, Others

PM181139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report: "Presenting Awards to Heroes"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko presented awards to a group of heroes in the Kremlin on 12 February.

The Order of Lenin and the Gold Star of a Hero of the Soviet Union were presented to Colonel V.A. Vostrotin; and the Order of Lenin and the Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal were presented to: M.G. Vagin, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Koverninskiy Rayon, Gorkiy Oblast; A.A. Goncharov, artistic director of the Vl. Mayakovskiy Academy Theater in Moscow; S.P. Zalygin, writer and chief editor of NOVYY MIR; and P.L. Proskurin, writer.

A.A. Gromyko delivered a speech at the award presentation in which he said:

Dear Comrades!

A group of heroes stands before us as though on parade: One member is a Hero of the Soviet Union and four are Heroes of Socialist Labor.

Pride of place in this group goes to Col Valeriy Aleksandrovich Vostrotin. A guard's assault trooper, he won the title Hero of the Soviet Union for heroism and courage in the successful fulfillment of the task of rendering internationalist aid to the Republic of Afghanistan. He sets an example of an officer of the modern Soviet Armed Forces.

He was among the first to go to Afghanistan with the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops. Since then he has taken active part in helping that fraternal country. The Soviet people and our party are proud of their sons, the internationalist servicemen. It gives me particular satisfaction to present to one of them the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star of a Hero of the Soviet Union on the eve of the glorious jubilee of the 70th Soviet Armed Forces anniversary.

The Statement on Afghanistan by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, setting out the Soviet Union's position indicates a sure path toward a political settlement in Afghanistan in the interests of its people and of the world as a whole.

The title of Hero of Socialist Labor is awarded to Mikhail Grigoryevich Vagin, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Gorkiy Oblast's Koverninskiy Rayon. He is a highly skilled specialist and talented organizer of agricultural production. He is distinguished by initiative, a creative approach to problem solving, boldness in the introduction of economic management methods, and the ability to utilize scientific achievements and train cadres in a thoughtful way.

The Lenin Kolkhoz, which Mikhail Grigoryevich Vagin has led continuously for almost 20 years now, is a farm with a high standard of production and a school of advanced experience. The profitability of all sectors increases here each year, and net annual profit now exceeds R3.5 million. The motherland has paid fitting tribute to the work of this specialist leader.

Three figures of Soviet culture have been made Heroes of Labor. They are Andrey Aleksandrovich Goncharov, artistic director of the Vladimir Mayakovskiy Academy Theater in Moscow, and the writers Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin and Petr Lukich Proskurin. They have each performed great services for the country.

The shows staged by Andrey Aleksandrovich Goncharov are distinguished by their civic-mindedness, topical content, and vivid visual appeal. Under his leadership the

theater has very successfully staged shows which raise acute present-day problems. The director has joined the ranks of important masters of the modern stage and theoreticians of the theater.

Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin and Petr Lukich Proskurin are writers with different styles. But they are united in the fact that their works are devoted to the most important events in the Soviet people's life and topical present-day problems, they take up social and moral problems, and skillfully portray the lives and characters of their fellow countrymen. Both writers' books are read and reread by millions of people. These books, like their authors, are widely known both in our country and abroad.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, allow me to congratulate you warmly on these high state awards. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sends you his congratulations.

I wholeheartedly wish you new successes in your lives, labor, and creative work. Please convey my congratulations to your friends and relatives.

Accepting the awards, V.A. Vostrotin said:

The award of the motherland's supreme distinction to me, a commander, is primarily a tribute to those soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, and officers of the airborne assault regiment who trusted me with their command. It represents the sweat and blood of my comrades in arms. It represents the success of our entire army collective.

Our party Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and all Soviet people have warm feelings toward our internationalist servicemen. We are aware of that, and it is the main source of all our successes and all our victories.

On behalf of those who are now carrying out the government's task, permit me, Andrey Andreyevich, to congratulate you and through you our party Central Committee and the Soviet Government for their concern toward us, the servicemen of the Soviet Army, and also at the request of my comrades in arms and fellow soldiers to assure you that we shall fully and honorably fulfill our internationalist duty and continue to be ever-ready to give a crushing rebuff to any aggressor. We vow to the Soviet people that the sword and shield of our mighty fatherland will remain firm in our hands.

I serve the Soviet Union!

Each of the Heroes of Labor also expressed words of gratitude to the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government for the high appreciation of their labor. The speeches of A.A. Gromyko and the award recipients were greeted with applause.

P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials took part in the presentation ceremony.

Dolgikh Attends Meeting of Metallurgy Ministry

PM161253 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Feb 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Metallurgical Workers's Targets"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Presidium of the Metallurgical Industry Workers Union Central Committee involving the participation of the leaders of a number of sector enterprises and organizations, representatives of labor collective councils, scientists, production pacesetters, and the party and trade union aktiv was held on 13 February. It examined progress made in switching USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy enterprises to conditions of full economic accountability.

The collegium session critically analyzed the sector's activity in the sphere of boosting production efficiency, enhancing enterprises' financial situation on the basis of new management methods, and deepening the process of democratization.

There was a discussion of specific measures aimed at ensuring smooth production, prompt and full fulfillment of state orders and deliveries under contract, and the further development of socialist competition to greet the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in worthy fashion.

The session was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and leaders of a number of ministries and departments took part in the work of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Presidium of the sector trade union Central Committee.

Dissident Says 'Hundreds' Arrested in Vilnius

AU182137 Paris AFP in English 2131 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Feb 18 (AFP)—Hundreds of people were arrested during Lithuanian nationalist demonstrations Tuesday marking the 70th anniversary of the Baltic state's independence, a Soviet dissident spokesman said here Thursday.

Editor of dissident magazine EXPRESS-KHRONIKA, Alexander Podrabinek told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that police used rubber truncheons to break up the protests outside the Saint Nicholas Cathedral.

Mr Podrabinek said that "hundreds of people" were arrested, but were later released.

He added that other demonstrators were packed into vans, driven up to 300 kilometres (187 miles) from Vilnius and told to get out. [passage omitted]

Mr Podrabinek said that about 10,000 people gathered outside the cathedral Tuesday evening singing the Lithuanian anthem and waving white flags to indicate their peaceful intentions.

They then marched into the main thoroughfares of Vilnius before the police broke up the demonstration, he added. [passage omitted]

Estonian Archbishop on 'Extremist Activity'
LD181821 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Tallinn, 18 Feb (TASS)—Any extremist activity directed against the socialist state contradicts the principles of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Estonia, Archbishop Kuno Pajula has noted.

As the Estonian newspaper RAHVA HAAL (THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE) reports today, the religious figure has been received by Ain Soidla, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of that Soviet Baltic republic. During the conversation, the archbishop noted with alarm that groups whose ideology does not correspond to church principles have appeared in Estonia recently. Kuno Pajula condemned the activity of extremist-oriented persons who attempted recently to use cemeteries for the staging of anti-Soviet actions. I have to talk with pain in my soul, he noted, of acts of vandalism at cemeteries, in Tartu in particular, where Soviet soldiers who fell in liberating Estonia from Hitlerite fascism during World War II are buried.

The archbishop noted that Estonian Lutherans support the radical transformations which are going on in Soviet society and regard the restructurinig which has been set in motion in the country as a guarantee of the victory of the ideas of peace throughout the world and an opportunity to make society more just and humane, Kuno Pajula stressed.

Rise of Estonian Nationalism Examined
PM171022 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Feb 88 pp 1,5

[Sylvie Kauffmann dispatch: "Visit to Nationalist Estonia"]

[Excerpt] Tallinn—The room was overheated and the assembled people in a state of intense excitement. There were around 70 people, most of them young, packed into the living room of a house which was not quite finished, in the open countryside near Tallinn. Outside it was pitch dark, damp, and very cold. People with Scandinavian blond hair, their cheeks flushed with the heat, were singing loudly in Estonian or English and clapping their hands to modern hymns to the glory of Jesus "Our Lord," "King of Israel," interspersed with nationalist songs in praise of Estonia, "our homeland," under the dynamic leadership of a 37-year old "pastor," who looked like a rock singer.

This scene, which is still unusual in the USSR even in these days of glasnost, is one of the signs of the rise in nationalism in the Baltic republics. This nationalism has taken on a rather special religious form: The members of this assembly say that they belong to the "New World Church," which they founded themselves. "We are the ambassadors for God's kingdom in Estonia," Khubert Yakobs, one of their leaders, explained amid a storm of applause.

Khubert Yakobs and "pastor" Reyn Mets are former Baptists breaking a ban imposed for political opinions incompatible with the activities of the official church. Last November, they signed an appeal to Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev—"Charter 87"—demanding the right for all congregations to emigrate and announcing that they renounced Soviet citizenship. They say that the charter has 232 signatories.

Although it is rather quaint, the New World Church, in which only Estonian is spoken ("If a Russian wishes to join us, we are willing to pray for him, but we will not accept him"), worries the authorities enough for virtually every member of the community to have had dealings with the police, the KGB, or even psychiatric hospitals. The "pastor" said that last week the KGB ordered him to prepare to leave the country in the next 7 days.

A similar threat has just been carried out on 36-year old Vello Vaartnu and 22-year old Eke-Part Nomm, two members of another group, the Party for the National Independence of Estonia. On Thursday 11 February Vello Vaartnu told us in an apartment in Tallinn that on 4 February the KGB had offered him the choice between "leaving for the East or the West"—in other words the Gulag or emigration. On Thursday evening he flew to Moscow with Eke-Part Nomm. On Saturday evening they arrived in Stockholm on an Aeroflot flight. [passage omitted]

Lithuania Not 'Assimilated' by Socialism
PM160941 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Eydintas, deputy director for scientific work of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute: "Secret of the Tariba. A Historian's View of Lithuania's Past and Present"]

[Text] There are events in world history which seem doomed to be extracted from dusty archives, dusted off, varnished and then hopefully passed off as eternal and

unfading. One of these was resurrected on the eve of 1988: the proclamation by the Lithuanian bourgeoisie of the "Act of Independence" of 16 February 1918. I will explain later why I have enclosed these words in quotation marks.

Having worked for several years in the Lithuanian Academy History Institute, I cannot remember receiving so many telephone calls and written and verbal requests to deliver a lecture to a collective or give a talk on events of 70 years ago. I would sincerely rejoice at an interest in history if it were not a campaign-style interest and a reaction to broadcasts by radio voices "from over there." But since the interest exists, let us take account of it and turn to the past.

Lithuanians know only too well what German occupation is like. Starting in 1915, the occupiers did not just plunder the district. Germanization became a basic part of the occupiers' policy. The kaiser saw Lithuania and Kurland within his borders, and these were not groundless reveries. The project cherished by the Entente for creating a new bourgeois Polish state, to include Lithuania, failed as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was in that situation that the Lithuanian bourgeoisie chose for the country what seemed to it the only possible way to attain independence—from the kaiser's occupiers. Representatives of the Lithuanian bourgeoisie created the region's Tariba (council). An organ without rights or strength, the Tariba was led along by the Germans. Having no authority among the population and maneuvering in every possible way, it requested "recognition of sovereignty." Why did the Germans not give it a drubbing? The reason was simple: They had a common aim with the Lithuanian bourgeoisie—to wrest Lithuania from revolutionary Russia. As a historian and a Lithuanian I wish to emphasize: The Lithuanian people have never sought to be a part of Germany and always fought against it for their independence. Consequently, the bourgeoisie betrayed its own people. Here are the facts.

On 11 December 1917 the Tariba signed a document, the first part of which proclaimed the setting up of Lithuanian statehood, while the second part contained a request to Germany for assistance, because the Tariba "stands for the Lithuanian state's firm ties as an ally with Germany." That in fact legitimated the path to annexation. But even after that "gift" Germany did not recognize bourgeois Lithuania's independence. After such a palpable tap on the nose the bourgeoisie on 16 February 1918 resolved on the act of declaring independence. But this still did not form a new state: Germany recognized Lithuania only as part of its empire.

For a long time we obstinately and one-sidedly maintained that the bourgeois Tariba (20 members) wanted to sell out Lithuania, although, in essence, it did not own Lithuania. And we failed to mention the fact that a struggle was being waged within the Tariba itself; certain liberal figures did not let themselves be led along by the occupiers but struggled for an independence that was impossible under those conditions. I would call them Don Quixotes of politics.... True, the originals of the documents attesting to the struggle of those political romantics against the pro-German figures headed by A. Smetona have disappeared. They could have clearly confirmed who was who during that period.

I believe that this disappearance was no accident. After the coup d'etat of 17 December 1926 it was A. Smetona, leader of the nationalist party, who became president of the bourgeois Lithuanian Republic. It would not have benefited him to have historians—albeit in the distant future—expose his role as a traitor. All the more so because his profascist regime was not popular in Lithuania anyway.

The documents have not been found, and we do not know whether they have survived. So the tendency to adorn history with "white spots" and silences was laid down by the bourgeois leaders and, incidentally, has remained the dominant principle in their historiography to this day. It is a waste of time arguing with them. But there is something we must understand for ourselves, for our own understanding of the processes which were taking place then.

Two antagonistic classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of Lithuania, were moving toward their ultimate goal—the attainment of power—each in its own way. The ordinary people under the leadership of Lithuanian Bolsheviks were seeking to create a republic linked to Soviet Russia in a close fraternal alliance. The Lithuanian Soviet Republic, which came into being 16 December 1918, was recognized by Russia 22 December 1918. V.I. Lenin signed a decree stating that the government of Soviet Russia recognizes the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic; recognizes it straightforwardly and unconditionally, as a sovereign state. Which date, then, should be closer and dearer to the Lithuanian—when he was placed under the German's power or when he was recognized as a free man?

As you see, there is nothing to argue about. But this is the trouble: We do not always analyze and assess long-standing processes in the interdependence of the external factor and the internal factor. They are treated increasingly separately. However, for small Lithuania the external factor—its international position—played a very important role in all internal processes. An example as an illustration: The fall of Soviet power in Lithuania was predetermined not by the mistakes of the first revolutionary government of V. Kapsukas but by foreign intervention—with the support of the internal counterrevolution it drowned the Soviet power in blood.... Thanks to that, the national bourgeoisie acceded to power.

Soviet Russia gave it de facto recognition 11 September 1919.

The absence of a dialectical approach in assessing historical facts is not a question of theory. By forgetting to compare external and internal factors of historical development we lose conviction. Our ideological opponents make clever use of this. We all remember a recent event: Last August nationalist elements in the Baltic republics organized anti-Soviet rallies in an attempt to stand on its head not only the significance of the signing of the treaty between Germany and the USSR but also the establishment of Soviet power in the Baltic region. It must be admitted that we historians also do not always convincingly explain the principles of the rebirth of socialist Lithuania.

Under the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between Lithuania and the USSR of 10 October 1939 not only Vilnius, the capital, but also the Vilnius district were returned to Lithuania. Our opponents graciously accept that fact, and there are no objections to it. But the 20,000 Red Army soldiers stationed in Lithuania under that same treaty were a thorn in their flesh. However, those 20,000 Red Army soldiers strengthened the USSR's western border. Strictly observing the treaty, the Soviet troops did not interfere in the internal affairs of the bourgeois Lithuanian Republic. Yet they were explosive times. On 23 March 1939 fascist Germany captured part of Lithuania—the city of Klaypeda and the Klaypeda district. Hitler himself attended the festivities marking that and delivered a far from peaceful speech from the balcony of the local theater, as though summing up the long and purposeful anti-Lithuanian campaign.

War was approaching us before our very eyes. The introduction of additional Red Army units into the Baltic countries 15 June 1940 saved the three small states from having their human and material resources appended to the machine of fascism. But that was not all. A more important question was being decided—a matter of life or death for the three Baltic peoples. However, as though forgetting that, bourgeois researchers emphasize something else—certain "secret protocols" on spheres of influence in the Baltic region and Poland, which no one has seen but the subject of which crops up time after time in broadcasts by various "voices." However, the overall context of the complex international relations of those times, of history, and of the confrontation between fascism and socialism attests to something else.

Returning to the complex events of 1940 in Lithuania, it should be taken into account that public opinion and the people's general antifascist sentiments were in favor of pooling the forces of Lithuania and the USSR against fascist aggression. Many liberal figures also sided with the people against A. Smetona's profascist government: General V. Vitkauskas, the writer and journalist Yu. Paletskis, and many others. The Lithuanian people themselves made the choice between democracy and fascism.

Only the most naive people will believe that the purpose of the present propaganda attack on the Soviet Baltic region is a desire to help us to eliminate "white spots." The purpose of this attack is different—to sow mistrust of the chief point: the voluntary selection by the peoples of the Soviet Baltic region of the status of a union republic. When we disclosed internal aspects—the Lithuanian people's desire for socialism—our opponents arbitrarily manipulated foreign policy factors. Now they have changed their tune. Their concept is this: Although the bourgeois state in Lithuania brought exploitation to the poor, they say, on the other hand it did guarantee the nation's development and the flowering of its culture. But, in view of the small size of Lithuania's population, the status of a union republic is leading to the assimilation and disappearance of Lithuanians. Migratory movements from the center of the country and the region's industrialization are said to bring in hundreds of thousands of migrants who do not know the Lithuanian language and have no intention of learning it. In their opinion it is disappearing in factories and plants and in establishments and ministries in the republic. In this way, they intimidate people, the Lithuanian language will soon become a "language of the kitchen." The ideological saboteurs unceremoniously hold up us Communists of the union republics in the role of traitors to the national interests of our peoples and our language and culture.

It would be rash to call questions of national relations simple and settled once and for all. It would be equally rash not to recognize that the years of stagnation also deformed the development of national relations. It seems to me that this has long been an urgent subject for serious public discussion.

Of course, our opponents keep quiet about the fact that tsarism prohibited Lithuanian literature and schools during 1864-1904, whereas today there are 11 VUZ's in the Lithuanian SSR, and all basic subjects are taught in Lithuanian; that the republic is covered with a network of secondary schools; that, starting in creches and through radio, television, and book publishing, Lithuanian is the chief, dominant language in the republic; that all the Lithuanian people's ethnic territories have been united for the first time in the Lithuanian SSR; that only under socialism is Lithuanian heard in both Klaypeda and Vilnius. Many similar examples could be cited. All these facts provide historians with food for thought, and they are achievements of socialism. To our great regret, we start to use them only after Western radio voices once again launch an attack against us. But if someone today is trying to "suggest" to us his own version of our history, we must understand why this is being done.

We have one aim—to improve our social system, strengthen it through the endeavors of the peoples of all republics, and realize the ideas of restructuring so that no one can sow a single grain of mistrust of our life.

Academics on Combating Nationalism in Estonia

PM161001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Academician V. Maamyagi of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences and R. Otsason, director of the Estonian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, by correspondents G. Ovcharenko and V. Shirokov: "No Boundary: Estonia Is Part of the USSR. Community With the Fraternal Republics is the Guarantee of Its Full Development"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Tallinn—Restructuring, glasnost, and democratization have revealed many problems in our life, including problems in the sphere of relations between nationalities. These questions also formed the basis of the conversation between your PRAVDA correspondents and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Maamyagi, Academician of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, and R. Otsason, director of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

Correspondent: We have heard many people in the republic say that attention should not be focused on the nationalities question. If in Moscow or Vologda someone pushes someone else in a bus, a sales assistant in a store does not respond to someone's call, or two groups of youths get into a fight no one takes any notice: It's a common or garden squabble, it happens all the time. But in the republic an incident of this kind is raised to the level of a nationalist phenomenon.

R. Otsason: That does happen. After all, everyone finds what he wants to find.

V. Maamyagi: An appreciable increase in national self-awareness is being observed now. Fertilized by the ideas of internationalism and socialism, it is leading to the new development of the republics and the country as a whole. But restructuring has stirred the waters and raised a muddy foam of demagoguery. Taking advantage of democratization and glasnost, ideologically immature and sometimes antisocialist elements are trying to jump on the bandwagon. They were the ones who organized the events of 23 August in the Baltic region. One Tiyt Madisson, who had previously been convicted for anti-Soviet activity, delivered a whole torrent of demagogic lies and half-truths to the people gathered in Khirve park. Here you had an individual interpretation of the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia in 1940, far from the historical reality, fabrications about its occupation by Soviet troops, and a one-sided impression of collectivization in the republic.

Correspondent: By the way, not everyone knows that Madisson went to such lengths in Khirve park because he already had an exit visa to go to Sweden. At Stockholm airport he was presented with flowers and...an envelope full of money. No wonder then that he has not so much doubled his activity as increased it tenfold, giving anti-Soviet interviews right, left, and center. He predicts new nationalist rallies and demands the release of "political prisoners." The list of prisoners includes, for example, Raymond Rozenfeld and Imre Arakas. For the information of the "radio stations" which have also begun championing these "prisoners of conscience," let us explain that Rozenfeld is doing time for rape and Arakas for robbery....

R. Otsason: This information will open many people's eyes.

Correspondent: The editorial office is still receiving letters from people who believe that the local authorities were too lenient with those who took part in the nationalist rallies. Some even write that it is time to "clamp down."

V. Maamyagi: This must not happen under any circumstances. It is the curtailing of democratization and glasnost that the Madissons of this world try to provoke in their attempt to discredit restructuring and the renewal of Soviet society. Let us look at the past: What else apart from trouble resulted from operating according to the principle that you can't make omelets without breaking eggs? We need restructuring and democratization in the interests of true socialism.

Correspondent: Does that mean that those readers who believe that actions should be based on persuasion, and they are in the majority, are right?

V. Maamyagi: I believe so. Let us recall our history: Did the Bolsheviks really remain silent at Socialist Revolutionary or Menshevik rallies, did they allow them to deceive the people? Party-minded, honest, and direct words have always been communists' main weapon.

Right now I should like to remind those who listened to the demagogic revelations of the "freedom lovers" that Soviet power was established in Estonia back in 1917 and not brought into the republic on "Red Army bayonets" in 1940. The transfer of power to the Soviets in Estonia was accomplished peacefully, without bloodshed. The appeal to the people announcing this fact was signed at 1400 hours on 26 October 1917, even before the formation of the Soviet government in Petrograd. The German occupation led in February-March 1918 to the violent defeat of Soviet power in Estonia. More than 5,000 Soviet patriots were arrested, and many of them were shot. In November 1918 Soviet power was restored over most of Estonia but during the civil war it was suppressed by the Estonian bourgeoisie, the White Guard, and foreign interventionists. In 1924 Estonia's workers rose in armed revolt to secure the victory of Soviet power. The uprising was drowned in blood. At the beginning of that year the Estonian party organization

numbered 2,000 Communists whereas in 1940, when Soviet power was finally restored during the new socialist revolution, only around 150 Communists survived underground....

Correspondent: Incidentally, foreign propaganda now interprets that fact as signifying the weakness of the Estonian Communist Party in 1940. The argument is that the Communists could not have restored Soviet power in Estonia by themselves using forces such as those.

V. Maamyagi: Nevertheless, the most important historical service of the Estonian Communist Party at that time was that it evaluated the situation correctly and chose the right tactics. The party had the working people behind it and relied on their class organizations, such as the trade unions, for example, whose central board included Estonian Communist Party Central Committee members Kh. Arbon and A. Aben, who was also chairman of the All-Estonian Union of Rural Workers, the largest mass organization in the countryside. Komsomol organizations and military committees in the army were created. The People's Self-Defense—the armed organization of the working class—was formed. Communists played the leading role in all these organizations. On the Communist Party's initiative an electoral bloc of the democratic strata of the population—the "Union of the Working People of Estonia"—was set up. Its program was approved by 618 different organizations and 304 popular assemblies. The electorate voted for this program in the elections to the State Duma. Thus the heroic sacrifices made by the Estonian Communist Party were not in vain....

Correspondent: However, none of the speakers in Khirve park on 23 August remembered those people who gave their lives for a free Estonia, for their people, language, and culture.

B. Maamyagi: Or the fact that the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was preceded by the Munich agreement signed by Britain and France with Hitler back in 1938, the Austrian Anschluss, the destruction of the Spanish Republic, and the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and Klaypeda. The historical truth is that the only possible obstacle to fascism and the imminent war was the conclusion of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance no later than August 1939 (it was well known in the West that the date for the attack on Poland—"no later than 1 September"—was set by the Nazis long before the Soviet-German pact). But Britain and France rejected the cooperation offered to them by our country aimed at preventing the fascist aggression. No, we were not the ones who opened the way to World War II.... In those conditions the question of the treaty with Germany was put in roughly the same terms as at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty: Was our country to be independent or not, was there to be socialism on earth or not. Madisson and his kind spout on about the victims of Stalinism. Yes, many people were evicted from the Baltic region—before the war and during collectivization. Some still ask with an understandable resentment: Why? I myself have had to live for 50 years now with the unjust sentence passed on my father, who has since been fully rehabilitated. But people are now speaking quite openly about those tragic mistakes when the very principles of socialism were willfully distorted.

Correspondent: However, the nationalists include among the victims of Stalinism all Estonians who died or were repressed before or after the Great Patriotic War, including the fascist hangers-on, members of nationalist gangs, and kulaks who shot their fellow Estonians. Not a word about the fact that in summer 1941 alone 426 armed attacks were carried out against volost [district] ispolkoms, military installations, and Soviet Communists. The enemies of Soviet power waged the armed struggle against it in the postwar years, too. People still shudder at the bloody chronicles of the "brothers of the forests."

V. Maamyagi: This acute class struggle also forced Soviet organs to take determined measures to eliminate banditry and temporarily evict kulak and nationalist elements. I must stress that this measure—many people have forgotten this—normalized the situation in the Estonian SSR and enabled it with the help of other fraternal republics to stand on its own feet economically and to freely develop its traditions and culture. I must add here that after 1953 the majority of the those evicted returned home. Furthermore, 17 percent of those outlawed between 1944 and 1953 were convicted, 12 died in shootouts, and over 70 percent were given legal status without being punished. Soviet power treated them humanely.

Correspondent: A public opinion poll conducted by sociologists in Tallinn in the summer showed that internationalist education work in the city is being conducted in a purely formal and unsystematic way. That was the opinion of 76 percent of those polled. We talked with the workers at two large plants in Tallinn, workers at a collective fish farm, and schoolchildren and students in Tartu—none of those we talked to could recall a serious discussion which revealed the causes of the nationalist demonstrations.

V. Maamyagi: I believe that the events of 23 August and just before, when for several months Western radio stations had actively fueled nationalist sentiments, were a surprise to many ideological workers and Communists. Stereotyped thinking prevailed: This cannot happen because it has never happened. For that reason they were unprepared not only to rebuff the demagogic propaganda of the so-called defenders of rights but also to speak openly with people who wanted just one thing—the explanation of a number of specific economic, social,

and everyday shortcomings in the republic's life. This proves that restructuring is needed not only in the economic and social sphere but in ideological work, too.

Correspondent: But it is worrying that ideological work is still sometimes not reinforced by real changes in everyday life—a fact which is skillfully exploited by our opponents. For example, leaflets which appeared in Pyarnu before the October celebrations spoke not only about the notorious victims of communism but also about specific everyday complaints. Here is how they were presented: "Dear Estonians! You can see how bare our table is. All our products go to Russia because they are too lazy to work...." Politics and economics are closely interwoven here.

R. Otsason: Yes, there are manifestations of nationalism in everyday life stemming from a number of unresolved social and economic questions.

Correspondent: We saw this for ourselves when we talked with workers at the "Mayak" collective fish farm where the collective, to use the sociological jargon, is stable and prosperous. Here is an extract from the verbatim account of that conversation.

Fisherman Vyayno Vinn, an Estonian: I have worked on ships where at times Estonians were outnumbered by those of other nationalities, and there were never any conflicts because of nationalism. The arguments that occurred related to work.

Ship's engineer Lavrentiy Guloyan, an Armenian: I have been in the republic since 1959. I have never noticed any disrespect from Estonians.

Chief accountant Ayno Yudakova, an Estonian: My husband is Ukrainian, we have three children. The youngest, aged 4, speaks two languages well. As do the older ones. Thus we have no problems communicating with people in the street. But what is surprising is that creches and kindergartens which in the past were not segregated into Russian and Estonian but were common are now separate. In the magazine VIKERKAAR—RAINBOW, in Russian—one writer even wrote that the teaching of Russian and Estonian from an early age can lead to an inadequate knowledge of either language, a loss of national identity, and even deficiencies in mental development. Mothers panicked that their children would grow up defective. I would say to them that my children began speaking two languages right away: You know them; do they seem mentally backward?

Aleksandr Nedosekin, deputy chairman of the kolkhoz fleet, a Russian: New residential districts are being developed in Tallinn. I do not know whose idea it was, but there are areas which are virtually all Russian or all Estonian. Once again you have a form of opposition. What is more, people have nowhere to meet—there is a shortage of clubs, movie theaters, even the bathhouses are being left to the last phase of construction.

R. Otsason: I know the "Mayak" collective fish farm. There are more than 20 nationalities working there, unless I am mistaken. It is good to see how those people work and manage their affairs. You can see for yourself from the examples of the "Norma" association, the "Talleks" plant, and other enterprises that where work is organized efficiently and where people are united by their work there is no place for nationalist discord. True democracy is a protection against nationalism.

V. Maamyagi: But when a man leaves the plant gates...he finds all those things which the "Mayak" fishermen talked about. Yet the questions which they raised are not all that difficult to deal with.

Correspondent: That is the annoying thing. Until now, for example, it has been hard to find a simple and accessible Teach Yourself Estonian book, from which you can learn how to communicate at an elementary level without the aid of a teacher.

V. Maamyagi: Indeed, there are few interesting books or popularized materials written by Estonian authors on the republic's history, culture, or traditions for the Russian-speaking population. The Russian-language newspapers also lack items on these topics. Furthermore, materials and books of this kind are necessary for children and adults alike.

Correspondent: We talked at Tartu university with third-year students in the law department, where instruction is given in Estonian. It emerged that the representatives of the different nationalities have extremely few places where they can meet even out of school. Furthermore, the majority of those we spoke to were of the opinion that, if we improve the international education of young people and remove the language barrier, this will automatically halve the number of nationalist manifestations in everyday life.

V. Maamyagi: True. But, unfortunately, it is only recently that people began seeing the question in those terms. For many years the main emphasis was placed on the teaching of Russian. The overwhelming majority of Estonians understand that Russian is an international language and that economic, social, and cultural contacts and cooperation in all spheres of life are impossible without a knowledge of it.

In everyday life, unfortunately, we come across examples of disrespect from the republic's non-indigenous population for the Estonian language and for the culture of the republic's indigenous population and even manifestations of great-power chauvinism. I am not exaggerating when I say that leading workers at all-union level sometimes forget the nationality factor when resolving many questions in the republic. All of this cannot do anything to promote the international cohesion of Soviet society.

Correspondent: The problem of bilingualism is serious but, I think, not the only one which feeds nationalism. The root of the problem must be sought in the economy. At Tartu University, for instance, students link the problems of housing and the supply of food and industrial goods with the high level of immigration of people from other parts of the country.

R. Otsason: Yes, immigration is encouraged by the extensive development of production, which requires more and more new workers. There is some work to be done here, of course. For example, the proportion of manual labor is high and is being reduced at a snail's pace, unfortunately. But there is another cause here: the lack of coordination in the actions of the republic and all-union planning organs and the inequality of the rights of regional and sectoral management.

Correspondent: But who is stopping the republic's Council of Ministers or the Gosplan from preventing the extensive development of enterprises? They do have some rights....

R. Otsason: Yes, vigorous and positive action must be taken here. A start has been made. The republic's government has drawn up a program to switch the economy to the path of intensification. We did not delay with the wage reform. It was carried out during 1987. A package of measures is being drawn up to eliminate the unjustified movement of manpower. Investment in modernizing enterprises is increasing. Enterprises' development plans are not being approved unless they offer the prospect of intensifying production.

V. Maamyagi: In other spheres of life changes are also beginning which should remove factors which generate nationalist feelings. For instance, new programs are being developed to offer Estonian language studies in Russian-language schools as well as by means of short courses. Benefits have been introduced for large families which will make it possible to improve the demographic situation. It has been decided to train bilingual people for work in the services sphere, medical institutions, and law enforcement organs.

Correspondent: We know that in Estonia there is an active search in progress to find radical measures to fundamentally improve the socioeconomic situation.

R. Otsason: Yes, such a discussion is in progress. Many suggestions have been made, for example, on the need to improve regional economic management. The republic's population is well aware that it was the community with the other republics and peoples of the USSR which ensured the rapid rate of Estonia's national economic development before: Between 1941 and 1985 industry grew by a factor of 55 and agriculture almost doubled. But research conducted at our institute shows that many of the opportunities for expanding the rights of regional organs of economic management and increasing their real responsibility for production efficiency have still been underrated.

In our opinion it is necessary to considerably increase the rights of the regions, including the union republics, in the management of sectors whose output is largely intended for consumption within the region. This means the agro-industrial complex, light and local industry, and construction. It is necessary to resolutely change the principle on which local budgets are formed: Their incomes must be determined by the economic results of the region's development. At the same time the independence of local organs of management may also be increased.

During the discussion, however, erroneous ideas have been expressed which have been turned by some people against the principles of international cooperation. For example, the idea that the USSR should switch to the convertible ruble—an idea which is correct in principle—would lead, if introduced within a single republic alone, to a weakening of interrepublic economic ties.

On the instructions of the republic's government an interdepartmental scientific collective has been set up in the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics to resolve these questions faster and in greater depth.

V. Maamyagi: But it must not be forgotten that the Estonian SSR has always been renowned for revolutionary, labor, and international traditions. And we must not abandon them to our ideological opponents now that the process of restructuring and democratization has begun. On the contrary, all the conditions needed to strengthen those traditions are indeed being created. This is what every fraternal republic needs to preserve its language, culture, and way of life.

But traditions must be strengthened not by command or instruction, as before, but openly and in the light of public opinion, without closing our eyes to the shortcomings or avoiding the problems. Under those conditions, by the way, there will be less cause for displays of nationalist and chauvinist feelings or for demagogic hysteria.

Writer Calls for Commemoration of Afghan Dead

PM181525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Our correspondent M. Yusin interview with writer S.N.Yesin: "Afghanistan Through a Writer's Eyes"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet writers who took part in the session of the Association of Writers of Asia and Africa Secretariat and the 8th Conference of the Writers of Asia

and Africa International Preparatory Committee has recently returned from Afghanistan. Our correspondent asked a delegation member, Moscow prosaist S.N. Yesin, to share his impressions.

[Yesin] I spent 2 weeks in Afghanistan. You could say that I was lucky. I visited many cities in that short period: Kabul, Gardeyz, Khowst, and Jalalabad. Our delegation met with the country's president, Najibullah. Apart from the session of the secretariat and the preparatory committee, we took part in the international symposium "The Writer and National Reconciliation."

[Yusin] Sergey Nikolayevich, tell us a little about this symposium.

[Yesin] The symposium evoked very great interest. To tell the truth, I did not expect so many foreign writers to accept the invitation to take part in it. I think that they were attracted by the subject of the symposium. For the question of national reconciliation is now topical not only for Afghanistan but also for a number of other states—in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

[Yusin] What impression did Kabul make on you?

[Yesin] In Kabul, despite the outward tranquillity, you sense that a war is going on in the country. What forces, money, and energy are being expended on it! They should be used to resolve the urgent problems facing not only the capital but also, to an even greater extent, all the provinces.

The breath of the war is felt at every step—frequent patrols and a permanent sense of tension and alarm. The war has also hit culture hard—some bookstores have closed in the city.

An entire generation of children deprived of childhood has grown up in the country. From the cradle they learn what bombs, explosions, and death are. The people have grown tired of the endless bloodshed.

[Yusin] What did President Najibullah talk about with the writers?

[Yesin] The president invited us to his house and talked for approximately 2 hours—about the country's life, about the ways of reconciliation, and about the situation in Afghanistan's economy, which has been bled dry by the war.

[Yusin] You visited one of the country's hottest spots—Khowst.

[Yesin] Yes, I drove down the Gardeyz-Khowst Highway, which was damaged not long before this. I was struck by the picture of destruction and devastation. Not one house remained intact alongside the road. Dead land all around.

[Yusin] What else do you remember?

[Yesin] The funeral of a prominent Pushtun, 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan. His name stands alongside Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the national liberation movement. I would call him the last of the knights who did battle with the British colonial empire.

Ghaffar Khan died in Pakistan, in Peshawar, but he had asked to be buried in the Afghan city of Jalalabad—in the courtyard of his homestead in the middle of a mandarin grove. On the day of the funeral, the Government of Afghanistan opened up the border with Pakistan and a huge stream of automobiles and buses and thousands of people poured in from there. But that day the war also made itself known. Someone blew up two buses. Even the dead man's name, which is spoken with reverence by millions of Pushtuns, did not stop the criminals.

[Yusin] Many people are now talking and writing about the young lads who have returned from Afghanistan. What do you think of them?

[Yesin] We are all indebted to these 20-year old veterans. I think that more must be written about the "Afghantsy": both in the central press and in the newspapers in their home cities, rayons, and oblasts. Why are reports about these guys' medals and exploits so rare? Why can't we commemorate those who didn't return? Why is it that in the cemeteries people can only guess where a boy died from the year on the tombstone. We have a right to be proud of our contemporaries, and we must learn to be proud of them.

[Yusin] Were you still in Kabul when M.S. Gorbachev made his statement on Afghanistan?

[Yesin] No, I had already returned to Moscow. I want to point out that our leadership's decision met with sincere, unanimous, and truly nationwide approval in our country.

Leaking Tbilisi Chemical Plant To Be Moved

PM181201 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent T. Chanturiya report: "So That the Trouble Cannot Recur"]

[Text] As a result of an accident at a Tbilisi enterprise a leak of a substance threatening people's health has occurred. Production at the enterprise was immediately suspended.

Judging by the acrid smell which spread in the evening of 9 February over the territory of the 26 Komissarov Rayon and some other rayons, it seemed at first that large quantities of car tires were burning somewhere. An accident at a parking lot, perhaps? The search for the scene of the accident led to No 23 Bochorma Street, a

Georgian Zootechnical and Veterinary Institute experimental plant for the production of therapeutical chemical and biological substances. It emerged that a leak of a chemical known as "Khlofo-50," an agricultural crop pesticide which contains trichlorfon, phosphamide, and ethyl alcohol, had taken place here....

According to spokesmen for the Georgian SSR Ministry of Health there were no cases of poisoning. The concentration of the fumes was not that strong. However, that fact alone that it was possible for an accident to occur in the middle of a densely populated city rayon was considered reason enough to close down the enterprise. It will be moved outside the city.

Train Accident Group 'Lulling Public Opinion'

PM111530 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 First Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent Z. Bystrova report: "Are All Our Worries Behind Us? After the Accident in Yaroslavl"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—In themselves, the consequences of the accident at the bridge over the Volga could have been eliminated in a matter of hours. But what should be done about an unsealed tank full of a highly toxic substance? The people of Yaroslavl were lucky that the weather was frosty. Thus the accident remained localized.

The oblispolkom Extraordinary Commission for the Elimination of the Consequences summed up: There is no further threat to the city, the condition of the air and water is causing no concern. The contaminated soil has been removed, taken away, and rendered harmless. The railroad is open.

The medics must still keep a prophylactic eye on the consequences. Otherwise, there is no more work for them. Everyone who was hospitalized has been discharged. The commission gave a high assessment of the actions of the railmen, militia, civil defense headquarters, servicemen, and doctors.

I asked V. Kovalev, first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom and chairman of the extraordinary commission:

"What lessons can we learn from what happened? It is no secret that the people of Yaroslavl reaped the fruits of someone else's negligence."

"An investigation is in progress. We have the preliminary conclusions. It is too soon to be definite...."

One might not agree with Vladimir Andreyevich on this point. An extraordinary commission is called extraordinary because it has powers. A collectively formulated opinion, a viewpoint that has emerged.... Are these really less important, in this case, than praise for those who worked hard and took steps? It seems there is an element of lulling public opinion.

I talked with V. Predybaylov, the railroad chief, V. Fedulin, prosecutor of the Northern Transport Prosecutor's Office, and V. Loginov, chief inspector of traffic safety.

The existing practice for the transportation of dangerous and highly dangerous freight requires heightened attention. The Yaroslav incident is grounds once again for an attentive study of the entire system: from instructions and guidelines to the most important aspect—the attitude of officials toward the tasks entrusted to them.

Yes, there was fairly convincing confirmation of the suggestion that the cause of the accident was damage to part of the buffer plate and shaft. A study of the buffer makes it possible to establish the presence of shoddy factory work in this component (by the Zhdanov heavy machinery plant). Before each journey a buffer of this type should be subjected to defectoscopy. But during the fifties the Ministry of Railways abandoned the buffer method of coupling. The automatic coupler was introduced. The guidelines on the operation of buffer systems were correspondingly revoked. They are the concern of the consigner himself. The tanks are also his responsibility. How could it happen that highly dangerous freight was transported in a container which had outlived its service life?

The tanks were accompanied on this trip by five people, who were involved in the accident and only escaped by a miracle. But this was not a special crew able themselves, if necessary, to organize the localization of the leak and decontamination. It was a guard team. They did everything, but how great was their potential? They did not even have the special key to secure the fastening of the hatch mouth. Nor did they have the means of organizing special emergency operations.

And what shape did the incident take? It proved impossible to fasten the lid of the tank, until morning it was not known what was in it. One wonders: Did the extraordinary commission not notice this? Or is it because of the habit of surrounding even truly intolerable circumstances in mist?

That night, people were sleeping calmly in houses nearby. Only in the morning was the decision taken to evacuate them temporarily. Yet the inhabitants might not have woken up....

The accident at the Volga bridge will be further studied and discussed. In particular, there will be an investigation at the Ministry of Railways. The interdepartmental commission on freight shipment which sits in Moscow will probably also touch on the matter. The Northern Transport Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings on the violation of traffic safety. There can be no doubt: The required amendments can and will be made. The one thing that cannot be permitted, in any circumstances, is complacency. Such a tendency does exist.

New Book Published on Gorbachev 8 Jan Meetings
LD171734 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] The book "Democratization is the Essence of Restructuring and Socialism" was recently published. It includes speeches by Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and other materials from his 8 January meetings in the party Central Committee with leaders of mass information media, ideological establishments, and creative unions. The meetings considered ideological, political, and information and propaganda matters during the present stage of restructuring. The book has published by Politizdat.

Bukharin's Widow Interviewed on Rehabilitation
PM171240 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 12 Feb 88 p 11

[Report on interview with Nikolay Bukharin's widow Anna Larina by Giulietto Chiesa in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Silence now reigns in the small apartment on Krzhizhanovskaya Street where Anna Larina, Bukharin's widow, lives. [passage omitted]

I asked her when she heard about Nikolay Ivanovich's rehabilitation, who informed her of the Supreme Court's decision, and who was with her when the long-awaited announcement was made.

"Officially nobody told me anything," she said. "I and Aleksey Ivanovich Rykov's daughter want to go to the Supreme Court. Like everyone else, we heard it on the radio and television. Before that there were unofficial rumors, telephone calls from all sorts of people. Some said it would happen on 2 February, others on 3 February. However, nobody sent us any communication—nobody. Nevertheless I will ask for the documents. Then I will wait a little, but unless the next decision is made, I will resume writing to the various authorities, because rehabilitation within the party is indispensable. Since Bukharin and Rykov were expelled from the party on charges of committing terrible crimes—charges that have been dropped—in my opinion there should have been an immediate Party Control Committee resolution drawing the necessary political conclusions, since the Politburo obviously agreed with the Supreme Court. However, this was not done, either for Nikolay Ivanovich or for Aleksey Ivanovich." [passage omitted]

[Chiesa] Do you believe that the present generation will go all the way in ensuring that justice is done?

[Larina] Nikolay Ivanovich could not foresee when people capable of ensuring that justice is done would arrive. I believe he thought they would come sooner. What is being done now is a major step forward, undoubtedly. The very fact that those monstrous charges have been dropped is important. However, I am demanding the maximum. I am demanding that Nikolay Ivanovich be recognized as a Bolshevik.

Trotskiy Removed for 'Violating Commitments'
PM181449 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[Reader's letter commenting on article called "Revolution in the Air" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 January 1988, followed by unattributed response: "Argument Has Arisen"]

[Text] Greetings, esteemed editors.

A professional and technical school student is writing to you. I had an argument with my history teacher. Your newspaper published the editorial "Revolution in the Air" 21 January this year. These lines appear in it: "Four o'clock. Comrades Stalin, Zinoviev, L.B. Kamenev, Molotov, Bukharin, Rudzutak, Tomskiy, and Dzerzhinskiy lift the coffin and, marching past the platform through Red Square, they accompanying Vladimir Ilich's remains to the burial vault.... " On that day the movie "Sorrowful January 1924" was shown on central television, in which documentary pictures were shown of Lenin's funeral. Well, the teacher claimed that L.D. Trotskiy was also among those who carried Lenin's coffin: She saw him quite clearly in the historical film clips.

I started to deny it and showed her your article in which everything was clearly set down. But Anna Ivanovna (the teacher) did not agree with the newspaper and asked me to send a denial to the newspaper—no more, no less. Tell me please who is right.... Where was Trotskiy on the day of Lenin's funeral, and what post did he occupy in the Soviet state after the death of Vladimir Ilich?

Yours sincerely,

Anton Losev

Dzerzhinskiy, Moscow Oblast

It is well-known (our newspaper mentioned it 27 September 1987) that Trotskiy did not participate in Vladimir Ilich's funeral with the others. He was on vacation in Sukhumi and did not interrupt his vacation. On that tragic day for the country, Trotskiy himself subsequently wrote in his book "My Life," he stood on the seashore and with the sea breeze "with my whole being I breathed in confidence in my historical correctness."

In 1924 he occupied the post of chairman of the USSR Revolutionary Military Council and people's commissar for military and naval affairs. In 1925 the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee January Plenum, which had condemned Trotskiy's opposition activity against the general party line, relying on a

local organizations' resolution having in mind Trotskiy's statement and arguing that "the interests of the cause demand that he be relieved as soon as possible" of the "duties of chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council," deemed it impossible for Trotskiy to continue in the job of leading the country's armed forces. The USSR Central Executive Committee Presidium 26 January adopted a resolution to relieve him of his duties as people's commissar and chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and to confirm M.V. Frunze in these posts.

Almost 3 years later in October 1927 a combined Central Committee Plenum and Central Control Commission session expelled Trotskiy from the Central Committee for repeated and most blatant violations of commitments undertaken before the party, and for factional struggle verging on the setting up of an anti-Leninist party.

Economic

CPSU Plan for Ministry Cutbacks Outlined

PM181425 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[K. Pyrtsak, A. Chernenko interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor R. Belousov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences department of the administration of socioeconomic processes, under the rubric "Topical Dialogue: Restructuring and the Ministry": "The Quiet, Easy Life Is Over"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The process of making the economy healthier and raising it to a qualitatively new level is inconceivable without radically restructuring the administrative apparatus. How can we remove the rust of bureaucracy and make this apparatus mobile and effective? We talked about the problems of administration which have arisen in the new stage of restructuring with Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor R. Belousov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences department of the administration of socioeconomic processes.

[Correspondents] Rem Aleksandrovich, many people now say the word "ministry" in a rather negative tone of voice. It seems to have become a synonym for "bureaucracy."

[Belousov] The ministries have played a large and positive role in our history. This role was particularly apparent during the industrialization period, the Great Patriotic War, and the subsequent restoration period. That is why I consider the elimination of ministries in 1957 a hasty step. I think they are still very necessary as state organs of management, but not in the present form. We need the kind of ministries which could guarantee sectors' well-coordinated work and, moreover, the kind of work which would stimulate a leap forward in quality, technology, and specialization so that our products can have broad access to the world market. I do not think this task can be solved with the present state of our ministries. Departmentalism is, perhaps, the best synonym for the concept of the ministry as it now stands.... The task is to break the rigid framework of departmentalism.

[Correspondents] So this means some administrative institutions are going to have to forfeit their "hierarchical" independence, so to speak? How do the ministries fit into the general democratization process?

[Belousov] The ministries very often describe themselves as the "middle man" between the central organs—Gosplan and Gossnab—and the enterprises. This would appear to be the case at first glance. In any event, whenever someone begins to complain, the ministries say: What on earth can we do about it, when we have been set this target by Gosplan and these resources have been allocated by Gossnab? But in reality the ministry is not this "middle man." Its role, as a rule, is central to the whole administrative system.

First of all, there is the point ministry representatives and nominees sometimes "make an appearance" in the Gosplan apparatus and other central organs. What is more, these people are not only bound by "corporative" professional ties. They studied together, know each other well, and often maintain informal, family ties. You also cannot fail to notice that the ministries still render a lot of services to members of Gosplan, for example. Virtually every ministry has various plants ("its own material base") near Moscow, which is something Gosplan does not have. They can repair a car, put together odds and ends for someone's dacha. So, what about it....

[Correspondents] Surely you do not believe purely personal ties so strongly determine administrative ties?

[Belousov] I would put it like this: They have done so in the past. The situation is changing today. Economic restructuring is breaking these links. But if I am going to be perfectly frank in the party spirit, I must say that if a ministry does not want something, it can rarely be forced by Gosplan or anyone else. The reverse is also true: When it wants to get something done, it will get its own way sooner or later. So the ministry is certainly not the "middle man." It is the neck which sometimes "turns the head" as it sees fit.

[Correspondents] This must obviously determine the process of improving the administrative structure and cutting back its apparatus. A physicist or a chemist can split objects around us into the smallest particles. A doctor can, if need be, mentally do the same thing with regard to the human body. But is this possible with an administrative institution?

[Belousov] Yes. It is also essential. How else can the organism be "healed"? Taking this standpoint, I would divide ministry cadres into four groups.... The first—the main group—would consist of experienced, skilled personnel who have gradually worked up from worker, foreman, shop chief, and director to a seat in the ministry. As a rule, it is these people who shape the face of the ministry. Their characteristic feature is that they know every plant and sometimes every shop and every blast furnace.

[Correspondents] So you think this category does not rank among the "office bureaucrats"?

[Belousov] In most cases, no. These people are now the bedrock of the entire ministry. They can quickly and correctly establish the cause of a hitch or the reason why a plan has not been fulfilled and assess the character of a leading worker or specialist, whom they sometimes know better than their own relatives. This group of cadres has really done and continues to do a very great deal. On the other hand, as a rule these people are not "politicians" or "strategists." They are the specialists of yesterday or, at best, of today. As a rule, they are specialists in just one technology. Because of this they are often conservative. Not through any evil intent. But, for example, it is they who have played the main role in ensuring that steel production in our country mainly uses the open-hearth furnace method, although we were the first in the world to develop new, more sophisticated technologies.

Nevertheless, this category of cadres is now the decisive one. The manager orders the "menu," as they say, but the cutlets, garnish, and sauce are prepared by this group of people.

The second group of cadres is also large. This consists of the ordinary employees. They have a good mastery of their job on the "conveyer belt" of incoming and outgoing paperwork. Although work interests are not alien to them, they are often more actively concerned with their own interests—usually domestic and personal interests. You may ask: What attraction does the ministry hold for them? I would say: The "neat" work. For many, the wages are not important—or at least they are not the principal consideration. There are many women in this category.

[Correspondents] In other words, this is precisely the category which privately speaks of its work in terms of the rather widespread expression "let sleeping dogs lie...."

[Belousov] That is possibly true. But something else is more important here—the absence of any fundamental professional interest.... In addition to these two large categories I would also highlight a third. The leading ministry cadres. As a rule, a small "team" of energetic people forms and, alongside them, those who are the motive force responsible for directing, coordinating, and instigating the circulation of paperwork in the form of orders, plans, and instructions which comprise the main "bulk" of the work done by ministries and departments, during which progress is made but real tasks also sometimes founder.

Finally, the fourth category. I would call it the "Don Quixote group." They are particularly disliked in the ministries because they are always looking for something, always suggesting that something be organized differently, and are not afraid to criticize because of rank. There are a considerable number of talented people among them and talent, as you well know, is always inconvenient. Especially as far as the bureaucrats are concerned. But, despite this, these people leave their mark on ministry work. They are always remembered when the ministry is looking for ideas and suggestions. Consequently, despite the certain inconvenience, this category of people is nevertheless tolerated in the ministries, sometimes even encouraged, but others try to keep them "in their place."

If you take a responsible state attitude toward the problem, this group really needs to be at the helm in the ministries.

[Correspondents] But what are the criteria here? How can you distinguish one from another on a purely formal basis?

[Belousov] There is only one criterion: action which produces real, useful results. Let me clarify a fundamental point. In the new economic management conditions the demands made on the ministries are changing. Their main function (which, unfortunately, the ministries have failed to fulfill, despite the fact that this has always been their function) is to ensure technical progress in the sector concerned. The fact that our machine building products are not in great demand on the world market (moreover, sales have dropped, although more products carry the "Seal of Quality") is confirmation that our ministries have been unable to really respond to the explosion of quality and the scientific and technical revolution which has occurred in the world in the seventies and eighties. How can we close the gap between Soviet and world technology? How can we create a new "machine"?

[Correspondents] Well, these questions are probably best left to specialized institutes....

[Belousov] In their applied form, of course. But it is precisely the ministries which must ensure production specialization and cooperation. Basically, one of the main reasons every enterprise in our country aspires to self-sufficiency (the unwitting consequence of this being that they fall behind world standards) is that the integral supply situation and cooperative-based deliveries are on their last legs. Although the fulfillment of contracts has

risen to a fairly high level statistically—98-99 percent—unfortunately, the situation with supply and delivery between subcontractors is deteriorating. No one should be deluded by figures.

[Correspondents] So, perhaps the transfer to new economic management conditions will help the ministry to solve these problems?

[Belousov] This is one of its central roles. So what does the initial, still highly contradictory, experience of ministry work to restructure the economic mechanism show? It shows the most serious problem is to transfer unprofitable enterprises to the economic accountability [khozraschet] system (In our country this means virtually one in every 8-10 enterprises). At present the ministries are taking the simple way out: They are employing old methods via the system of individual normatives, taking from the enterprises working well to give to those working badly. This is actually prolonging below-par technical standards, bad management, and shortcomings in production organization. I think the trend should move in the direction of leveling out the normatives governing the formation of economically accountable funds at enterprises. Ministries should use their reserves to really help enterprises rather than simply relocate funds.

[Correspondents] So what is to be the fate of the "superfluous administrators"?

[Belousov] What we want to do is get these people away from paperwork and involve them in real work. Work that is more highly paid and more creative. Generally speaking, depending on the pace of development in office equipment, I can see administration being free of paperwork in the future. At present we are only concentrating on industrial robots, but it is time we also began to consider paper-free administrative technology! The process of cutting back is, of course, painful. But, you must agree, it is also inevitable. It must be made humane by ensuring that the people released from their jobs are retrained and returned to work.

[Correspondents] So what is actually happening in the ministries at present in connection with the reduction in the size of their apparatus?

[Belousov] The ministry apparatus has already been thinned out a little.... The idea is that one in two or one in three people in the apparatus must go. So who will be left? The quiet, easy life is over. The economic situation is forcing managers to rely on people with inquiring minds, who aspire to new ideas. Experienced cadres with a knowledge of the sector must be retained, of course.

[Correspondents] Rem Aleksandrovich, many people still regard cutbacks in the administrative apparatus with a certain amount of mistrust, as if it were just a campaign. From their experience of "cutbacks" in past years many compare this process to scaring birds from the trees.

[Belousov] There is a lot of truth in that. Of course, other birds return individually to the "big nest." But the species of "bird" does not change. For example, at the moment many directors complain the ministries often refuse to resolve specific issues. They are particularly reluctant to tackle anything involving the slightest risk, when they will have to defend their ideas and win through. Generally, many ministry bureaucrats have a secret commandment: "If possible—do nothing; if doing nothing is impossible—sign nothing." Very many enterprise directors mention this style of approach.

[Correspondents] There is now a widespread opinion that many of the "ills caused by stagnation" will be "cured" by making the ministries themselves economically accountable.

[Belousov] I am personally against the idea of making ministries economically accountable. A ministry is not a large board of directors for the sector concerned or a representative of that sector in the state. It must become a representative of the state in the sector. This is how we can limit departmental interest. But economic accountability in the narrow sense of the word will not solve this problem. We need a more democratic form of control over ministry activity. This is another matter entirely. But I cannot remember a time when a deputy has come up with an initiative or a proposal to replace a minister or even his deputy....

But this is a mutual process. You cannot demand democracy for those who want to use it in a parasitical way. For example, we have often said enterprise directors in our country have had few rights and little independence in their work. Research has shown, however, that in 9 cases out of 10, when the director of an enterprise comes up against a major problem which is directly within his competence and which he could solve on his own, he avoids doing so. He goes to the ministry to "consult".... What it really means is this: He wants the ministry to hold his hand, would like to obtain some extra resources, and, at the same time, shifts the responsibility onto someone else. Surely this is not democracy? No, this is parasitism. It would be a great mistake if the ministries were to fall in with this. There is that danger.

Changed Approach to Centralism Outlined

PM161405 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) p 12

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Gorlanov and Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Ryazanov under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Toward a New Quality of Centralism"]

[Text] Leningrad—Centralism is inherent in the socialist organization of production. It offers an opportunity to solve economic and social tasks by specifically socialist

means. This is an important advantage of socialist economic management. The fundamental reform of the management of the economy and the transition to economic methods impart a new quality to centralism.

Priority of Nationwide Interests [subhead]

The main purpose of centralized methods of leadership at all stages of the socialist economy's development is primarily linked with the quest for efficient ways to implement nationwide interests and to ensure their priority. These tasks are also topical today. Their solution must rule out any possibilities of replacing genuine centralized leadership by ministerial and departmental centralism, which, in certain circumstances, is capable of promoting departmental interests to the detriment of the interests of the entire national economy.

To ensure centralism really expresses nationwide interests, it must conform with the other methods and principles of socialist management, mainly its democratism. It is only in unity with them that it produces a socialist mechanism for the planned management of the economy. Moreover, the shaping of the new quality of centralism must not proceed autonomously but must be ultimately subordinated to the targeted functions of economic development. In other words, centralism in management is important not per se, but only as a means, as an instrument for efficiently achieving the main goals of social progress.

To assess the nature of the utilization of centralism from this standpoint, it is first necessary to abandon the absolutization of those forms of centralism which emerged at preceding stages and were in conformity with the administrative-departmental organization of production with its characteristic method of implementing nationwide interests. Under this type of organization, centralism in management assumed to a considerable extent the form of departmental centralism and acted as a serious brake on economic and social development. It lost the ability to ensure proportion and balance in the national economy and to subordinate the national economy to nationwide social goals.

The acutely exacerbated problem of achieving proportion and balance confirms the axiom that the advantages of the planned organization of socialist production are not automatically implemented. They demand perfectly specific social actions in full conformity with the constantly changing scientific, technical, economic, sociopolitical, and international situation. If this does not happen, the utilization of advantages gradually begins to be dominated by conservative elements, which gradually and inevitably turn into forces of braking and stagnation.

Is the cause of this to be sought in centralism itself? What was untenable, in our opinion, was not the centralism in management itself, but the way it was interpreted and mainly the way it was applied in practice. Its identification with ministerial and departmental centralism inevitably led to the substitution of departmental interests for national economic ones, and conditioned hypertrophy and isolation from democratic principles in management. Furthermore, the utilization of this method as a lever to exert administrative edict pressure by the economic leadership apparatus encouraged an unchecked desire to plan absolutely everything at the center and to regulate and constrain every step by participants in social production. By force of those same circumstances, there was a growing local desire to replace actual work by activity "on paper," and this engendered passiveness, freeloading attitudes, and rejection and fear of any initiative.

The final outcome was that the implementation of centralized policy on determining key national economic proportions in other spheres of socioeconomic development grew beyond all reasonable limits and was reduced to petty tutelage, becoming both the cause and the consequence of the full development of administrative-bureaucratic methods of management.

Overcoming Bureaucratism [subhead]

Existing experience in the restructuring of the economic mechanism indicates we are still far from having finally overcome bureaucratism. Here it is important to realize that its economic roots lie in the distortion of centralism, or rather in supercentralism. Consequently, the main feature of bureaucratism is the consolidation of the essentially monopolistic position of ministries and departments in making management decisions according to their interpretation of social interests. The elimination of the distortions of centralism would enable us to break the linkage which has developed between it and bureaucratism in economic practice. The economic roots of bureaucratism will exist for as long as centralism is interpreted and utilized as the sole way of implementing nationwide interests, for as long as its implementation relies only on the effect of administrative edict methods of management. But this idea of centralism does not conform with its socioeconomic nature and its role in society and is being surmounted by the new economic mechanism. In this way the role of enterprises in shaping the national economic plan and in satisfying consumers' interests is being significantly enhanced.

Therefore the transition to a new quality of centralism in the planned management of the socialist economy is linked primarily with the quest for ways to "break loose" from bureaucratism. For this purpose it becomes inevitable, first, to change the sphere of centralized influence on society's socioeconomic development and to redistribute the rights and duties of economically active subjects in favor of direct producers. It also becomes inevitable to achieve a transition from mainly administrative to mainly economic methods for making the national economic interests known to producers.

Such changes are objectively necessary and could play a considerable role not only in undermining bureaucratic methods of management as serious brakes on social progress, but also in shaping a new type of economic management based on the economic independence and responsibility of producers themselves, on their economic initiative and enterprise in achieving national economic interests.

It is, of course, not just a matter of the practical impossibility of all-embracing planning from a single center. The shaping of the new quality of centralism is conditioned by the objectively necessary transition to a new mechanism for the implementation of socialist ownership in economic activity. We refer to the need to abandon the former mechanism for the implementation of socialist ownership based on vesting the overwhelming mass of rights and powers in higher ranking management organs (ministries and departments) to the detriment of labor collectives.

Economic and Administrative Methods [subhead]

The transition to mainly economic methods of management involves the creation of new forms for the direct implementation of ownership by the whole people, forms distinguished by a reunification in the economic position of all participants in social production of the functions of workers and the functions of real stewards of the property of the whole people. This could provide a basis for overcoming the alienation of working people and collectives from property, which they now perceive either as officially owned by the state or as "nobody's" property.

Fears are expressed at times that the implementation of major economic changes could lead to the transformation of property owned by the whole people into a variety of group property, and to the breaking of links between social and personal (collective) interests. To prevent this from happening, producers must be given the functions of proper stewards of the property of the whole people, while relying on centralism in management. It is centralism that operates as an inalienable and important instrument for coordinating the interests of all economically active subjects for the sake of the implementation of nationwide interests and of ensuring priority for them.

At the same time, the need to use centralism as a form of administrative-legal influence to ensure global proportions and progressive structural changes in the economy and to implement a uniform scientific and technical policy also remains in the new conditions of economic management. The introduction of full economic accountability [khozraschet] everywhere could, for example, intensify the effect of the centrifugal tendency in the economy, as well as economic exclusiveness and parochialism. Our country, for example, with its broad differentiation and variety of natural, climatic, historical, national, and other conditions of economic management, cannot manage without centralized administrative-legal regulation. But this regulation must be based on democratic foundations—glasnost and availability of objective information for the population, and the elaboration of alternative versions of plans and the most important national economic proportions. All this will ensure real participation by working people in their discussion and adoption.

Intensification of the Intersector Approach [subhead]

The reform of economic management will create a new mechanism for collaboration between enterprises and the economic center. The content of centralized methods for planned management of the economy is changing. The utilization of these methods must gradually switch to the elaboration and implementation of targeted socioeconomic, scientific, and technical programs. It is these programs that must provide the basis for compiling the portfolio of state orders, placed on a competitive basis.

Such an approach offers an opportunity to overcome the flawed practice of turning state orders into a variety of the notorious basic product range [osnovnaya nomenklatura]. The targeted program method of planning will, in our opinion, intensify the role played in the management of production-economic links by the system of normatives elaborated by the consolidated sections of central economic departments (Gosplan, State Committee on Prices, State Committee for Standards, State Committee for Labor and Social Problems).

In such an event enterprises' activity will be primarily regulated by all-union functional, rather than sectorial, organs. Having at their disposal information about the availability of resources and about current and long-term requirements within the framework of relevant targeted programs, they could consistently ensure priority for genuine nationwide interests, channeling the activity of intersector complexes and their member enterprises toward the efficient satisfaction of various social needs.

In all other aspects of current economic activity, the enterprise as the basic link of social production will really become an equal partner in relations with all organs of sectorial and territorial economic management without exception.

Regarding sectorial organs of management in whatever form, under the enhanced role of targeted program methods they will operate not as an additional bureaucratic link in planning but as coordinators and mediators in organizing the best possible forms of intersector and interregion ties.

The rejection of self-sufficient sectorial linear ties will make it possible to really strengthen centralism in management by boosting the economic responsibility of enterprises and ministries for the satisfaction of social

needs. The release of sectorial management organs from the duties of operational monitoring of current production activity and interim labor results will refocus their attention on the elaboration and implementation of the strategy of sectors' economic development in light of national economic priorities.

Regional management organs, primarily local ispolkoms, will play a greater part in the operational monitoring of primary production-economic links (enterprises and associations). In this case we are not talking about some new version of the National Economic Councils system of management, which in its time put the brakes on the implementation of a uniform technical policy and became a real base for the manifestation of parochial interests, but about the utilization of the positive elements inherent in the territorial approach to management.

Sectorial ministries will still determine economic development strategy on the basis of their participation in targeted national economic problems and the implementation of a uniform technical policy and interregion production sharing. But an opportunity will emerge within the framework of regional structural subdivisions, first, for intersector production sharing in a given territory, second, for the organization of specialized base enterprises and production units satisfying the needs of all enterprises belonging to the regional complex and, third, for the formation of a centralized repair and maintenance system for machines and general purpose technological equipment.

The transition to a new quality of centralism in the planned management of the socialist economy will ensure priority for national economic interests in the new conditions of economic management.

Editor Analyzes Plan Fulfillment Discussion

PM161051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA Deputy Chief Editor D. Valovoy: "Breakthrough. Notes from a USSR Council of Ministers Session"—boldface as published]

[Text] Moscow. The Kremlin. The oval hall of the USSR Council of Ministers. Here the country's general economic headquarters sums up the results of the national economy's work and maps out ways of effectively solving the problems which arise during the implementation of plans. Here many ideas for the country's socialist transformation have been given the go-ahead.

I must admit that for many years I had thought of this hall as a "hall of complacency." It was here that smug reports were read out and optimistic speeches made assuring us that the "sector (department) will undoubtedly cope with the set tasks." Complaints about colleagues were expressed in a supremely polite manner, using adjectives such as "dear Ivan Sidorovich" or "universally esteemed Semen Ivanovich." The "universally esteemed Semen Ivanovich" immediately appeared on the rostrum and bounced the complaints down the line to "dear Ivan Nikiforovich," and so on in turn. There were disruptions and shortcomings. But, as I recall, it was not possible to discover the guilty parties.

After April 1985 the situation here changed sharply. The session participants included fewer and fewer slumbering veterans. The hall got a breath of fresh air. The sessions became more keen, more businesslike and purposeful. Effective ways of solving major national economic problems were sought and the elements of a new economic mechanism developed. All this reflected the positive changes in the national economy. This was particularly evident at the latest session.

In light of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, N. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, warned in his opening speech, when summing up the latest results we must look back and monitor the fulfillment of 5-year plan, and look forward, thereby assess the economic position of the country as a whole, and specify the tasks for the forthcoming period taking account of the prevailing situation.

The session discussed the results of the plan for the country's economic and social development and the State Budget for 1987 and defined the tasks of ensuring that the plan and budget are met in the current year. The reports by N. Talyzin and B. Gostev analyzed problems and made criticisms. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the growth in industrial output was 8.9 percent, as planned. Agriculture is embarking on the path of stable development. The annual gross grain harvest exceeded 210 billion tonnes of grain—or was 17 percent more than during the 11th 5-Year Plan. Average annual meat production increased by 13 percent, and milk production was up by 8.7 percent.

The speeches at the session were acute and businesslike. They stressed the social and human aspect: How does restructuring promote the satisfaction of people's urgent needs? There have been obvious changes for the better in this area. The economy has made a notable turn toward satisfying the population's needs. There has been progress in strengthening the material and technical base of the social sphere. The commissioning of housing last year posted an increase of 15 percent in comparison with 1985, there was an increase of 16 percent in the commissioning of preschool institutions, 17 percent for hospitals, 27 percent for schools, 34 percent for medical centers, 65 percent for vocational and technical colleges, and 72 percent for clubs and cultural centers. At the same time the session criticized certain republics for being slow to address the social sphere.

A number of departments and republics have boosted output of goods in particular demand and have increased services to the population. There are many regions where the provision of truck gardens for the population is

well-organized and people are given help in working them. But there were also examples and cases cited—and they are by no means isolated—which attest to an absence of proper attention to people's needs.

The most important thing now, the chairman stressed, is to more fully satisfy the population's various needs. The government has demanded that people's demand for construction materials for truck gardens be fully satisfied and that they be helped with transport and provided with other services.

Great attention was devoted to the transition to the second stage of the radical reform—the switching of a large group of enterprises and whole sectors to complete economic accountability and self-financing. They will produce approximately 60 percent of industrial output. It was proposed that account be taken of the experience and difficulties that have been encountered on this road by the 2,500 enterprises that were working under the new conditions last year.

The results of economic development and the positive changes in the course of the implementation of radical reform were given in greater detail in the recently published report on the USSR Council of Ministers session and the USSR State Committee for Statistics summary for last year. In these notes I would like to touch on just a few questions that merit consideration.

The reports and speeches talked about the unsatisfactory fulfillment of **contracts.** Under the new conditions this is the main evaluation indicator. Nonetheless 23 percent of associations and enterprises failed to fulfill their commitments. Such collectives made up 47 percent of the chemical and forestry complex and 56 percent of the machine building complex. The national economy suffered a shortfall of output worth R12 billion. More than half of the targets for the 141 most important types of product of decisive importance for a balanced national economy were not fulfilled in physical terms.

The planned, balanced development of the economy is one of the most important advantages of the socialist economic system based on public ownership of the means of production. Conditions do not exist in this country for uncontrolled regulation of production. If an imbalance is permitted, it will cause damage until such time as we sense it and consciously eradicate it. Touching on this question, the chairman stressed that until we learn to fulfill contracts there can be no question of balanced or stable work.

So why, despite the efforts that are being made to solve this problem, have we still not seen the desired results? What do we need for a radical change in this area?

The experience of collectives that successfully and regularly achieve 100-percent fulfillment of contracts, it was noted at the session, attests that this question requires well-organized work, iron discipline in all sectors, and high responsibility for the task in hand. That is the **first and indispensable condition.**

At the same time, practice shows there are a number of reasons for the breaking of contracts—reasons that are not the fault of the enterprises—which disrupt the rhythm of collectives that work steadily. One of these reasons is **material and technical supply.** The USSR law on enterprises states that material and technical supply organs must satisfy enterprises' basic requirements for material resources in good time. The implementation of this provision is the **second indispensable** condition to ensure 100-percent fulfillment. Since means of production are not yet freely available for sale, this condition must be rigorously fulfilled. If not, the slightest trivial holdup in one area will have a ripple effect.

At the end of last year I visited the Saratov Bearing Plant. Plant Director I. Yashkin told me:

"In 25 years of leadership work at the plant I do not recall ever having enough metal. Even in 1987 we did not have enough metal for 10 percent of our 2,000 types of bearings...."

It was stated at the session that last year customers experienced a shortfall of 24 million bearings. The Saratov workers made their own "contribution" to this—they failed to supply 1,200,000 bearings. Yet without bearings machines worth tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles cannot work.

It seems to us that the planning of **wages funds on the basis of figures already achieved in rubles** is the next "stumbling block" in the way of 100-percent fulfillment of contracts. It is well known that for many years cheap, labor-intensive articles took a "back seat" in the pursuit of gross indicators. If under the new conditions enterprises take account of demand to expand production of such goods, the turnover they had previously achieved in ruble terms will fall, the manpower employed per ruble of sales will increase, and they will not be able to guarantee collectives' wages. During a recent discussion on this point participants in the PRAVDA "Business Club" stated that economic managers often face a dilemma: Should they fulfill a contract or guarantee wages and growth rates?

A sharp conversation took place at the government session on the elimination of leveling and the resolute eradication of free-riding in all sectors of the economy and in science. V. Chernomyrdin, minister of the gas industry, said that several laboratories which had not found work had had to be closed. The example was given of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, where only 400 people remained instead of 4,000 when science was transferred to the contract system. In other words life has

forced us to really ascertain: Who is who? Under the new conditions the question has been formulated in the following way: How long will we feed people who don't put anything into society?

The poor fulfillment of targets for **saving material resources** was pointed out at the session. There is a solid reason for this. In industry the material-intensiveness of output has fallen by 0.4 percent instead of 1 percent according to the plan—only 40 percent of the target. It was envisaged that the material-intensiveness of social production would fall by 0.8 percent, but it just did not happen. The energy-intensiveness of national income last year rose by 0.9 percent instead of falling by 1.8 percent according to the plan. The average rate of the fall in metal-intensiveness in 1986-1987 amounted to 1 percent as opposed to 2.2 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan and was 60 percent lower than the rate envisaged by the "metal-intensiveness" program. When analyzing this question it was indicated that the economic mechanism is still not working here. This makes it possible to expend any quantity of material resources and live in clover.

We believe this is precisely the crux of the matter. The saving of resources is determined not according to the normatives for their expenditure per unit of product but per ruble (million rubles) of commodity output. The raising of materials- and energy-intensiveness is the "objective" basis for raising prices and correspondingly increasing commodity output. The latter's growth disguises the increase in materials- and energy-intensiveness. Therefore, enterprises frequently churn out things that lie around gathering dust in warehouses. Stocks of material assets are being reduced extremely slowly, and uncompleted work is continuing to grow in construction. This is explained to a considerable extent by the fact that work assessment and the wages fund here are still directly dependent on costs: The more you have expended, the better you have worked and the more... you have earned.

In this connection the attention of the session participants was drawn to the experience of the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which Minister N. Lemayev described. They have achieved appreciable successes without increasing material costs by processing raw materials more fully and making efficient use of their components. Net output is being used to measure labor productivity and form the wages fund in the sector, which is at present the only sector to do this.

Under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing special attention was devoted to the **financial position**. It concerns everyone. A very unfavorable situation has taken shape in this matter. Some 13 percent of enterprises are still making a loss, with 22 percent doing so in the system of the agro-industrial complex. Last year more than one-fourth of enterprises and almost half in the machine-building complex exceeded the planned output prime costs. Nonproductive expenditure amounts to tens of millions of rubles. Stocks of material assets are approaching half a trillion rubles. There are large losses resulting from slipshod work and thefts. Despite party and government decisions, there is continuing waste in some places locally. B. Gostev named a number of specific facts. In particular, R5 million—or six times the normative—was spent on the construction of the Sosnovyy Bor Gorkom and Gorispolkom building in Leningrad Oblast. Meanwhile, the city has just one 600-seat movie theater.

Question from the floor: Can't the local authorities see what's happening?

B. Gostev: But it is for them that it is being built.

Other instances of waste were also cited at the session. They were sharply criticized. At the same time it was said that, whereas previously people got away with it, this will not happen under conditions of glasnost and democratization.

Generalizing the results of the discussion, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said in conclusion that we have entered the new, second stage of restructuring in the economy. It is a difficult, crucial, decisive stage. **Difficult** because it demands the maximum effort in work. The loads on cadres are increasing, and they must relearn a lot of things. **Crucial** because restructuring is embracing the deepest-seated, fundamental bases of social production and radically changing relations which have evolved over decades, and, most importantly, tens of millions of people are being involved in work on the basis of full economic accountability and self-financing. **Decisive** because precisely at this stage restructuring must confirm with practical successes over the entire front the correctness of the measures elaborated by the party and the government.

Officials Take Part in Employment Phone-in

LD131114 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1615 GMT on 12 February 1988 carries the latest edition of the live-phone-in "Problems, search , Solutions" program, which runs to 1 hour and 45 minutes duration. Program presenter Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy draws attention to the new name of the program, "Restructuring: Problems and Solutions", and explains that today's edition will discuss financial atuonomy and employment, noting that economists have forecast that 16 million people might have to change their jobs by the year 2000. He introduces the following panel members: AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev; Dr of Legal Sciences Semen Aleksandrovich Ivanov, head of the Labor Law Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law; Konstantin Nikolayevich Yavorskiy, deputy chairman of the Beltsy Gorispolkom in Moldavia; and Ivan Ivanovich Gladkiy, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems chairman.

Voznesenskiy begins by asking Shalayev the reason for the recent resolution by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU on ensuring effective employment of the population, further improving the job placement system, and reinforcing social guarantees for working people. Shalayev explains that the document was adopted because the Soviet people need to be conifdent that their right to work is guaranteed. At the same time, he says, under conditions of restructuring it is necessary to anticipate the processes occurring in the economy and to avert possible adverse socioeconomic consequences. Gladkiy notes that as financial autonomy, self-financing, and new conditions of remuneration are introduced, enterprises are striving to use their personnel more effectively, and that this undoubtedly entails reductions in staffing levels.

Voznesenskiy reads a letter on this subject from a works team, saying, "reductions, in the opinion of these comrades—I am reading it just as it is written—are senseless and inhumane. What will these people do?" He also notes that a viewer has telephoned to say that the transition to financial autonomy might produce something like 10 million people temporarily unemployed.

Gladkiy replies by saying that the economic mechanism is already having the effect of producing more goods with fewer people. He notes that the resolution on employment puts emphasis on reemploying spare personnel at their own enterprise. He says that a poll of managers showed 82 percent believe workers should be reassigned within enterprises.

Voznesenskiy says viewers have written to complain that "it is not just workers who, by virtue of their professional training, have turned out to be less necessary in the new management conditions and who are dismissed, but often it includes people who are simply not to the administration's liking." Shalayev notes a question from a viewer along similar lines, who says that "mediocre workers and time-servers will remain while the active leaders might be made to leave." Shalayev states the resolution on employment "establishes a whole range of supplementary rules to protect working people's interests" to prevent such an eventuality.

Voznesenskiy moves to another question: "What measures are envisaged for monitoring fulfillment of the resolution by enterprise managers?" Shalayev explains "above all, we have to establish monitoring through the State Committee on Labor and Social Problems, the Ministry of Justice, and the AUCCTU." He continues: "We have set up a permanent AUCCTU working group led by AUCCTU Secretary Makeyev, which will monitor fulfillment of this document on a permanent basis, together with the staff of the central committees and councils of the trade unions."

The question of residence permits is raised by Ivanov, who reads a viewer's question: "On moving to a new place of residence a great deal of time is lost on residence permits, but it is impossible to get a job without such a permit. What is being done to overcome this absurdity?" Ivanov replies that "in my view the creation of a job placement mechanism ought to precisely provide for problems arising in connection with residence permits when moving to a new rayon, to another place of residence, and another job," He continues: "If the center sends someone to a job it could well help that person to reduce the amount of time spent on residence permits, the time spent bustling from one office to another, and help overcome the difficulties citizens face in respect of residence permits."

Winding up the program, Voznesenskiy says the questions from which there was no time in the program will be answered in the AGITATOR magazine.

Biryukova Addresses Light Industry Collegium

PM171751 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Improving the Work of Light Industry"]

[Text] Saturating the market with high-quality consumer goods largely depends on the work of light industry. The results of the sector's activity on the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing in 1987 and the tasks involved in ensuring the fulfillment of state order targets in 1988 were discussed at an extended session of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry Collegium held 13 February in Moscow.

A report by Minister V.G. Klyuyev and other speeches pointed out serious shortcomings in the work of union and republic ministries of light industry. It was stressed that the necessary conclusions had not been drawn from the criticism voiced regarding the ministry at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. The sector is not coping with its main task of meeting the people's requirements for outerwear, footwear, fabrics, and other goods.

The need was pointed out for a sharp increase in the standard of work of union and republic ministries, enterprises, and associations to take advantage of the opportunities of the new economic mechanism, make better use of existing production potential, increase production, improve quality, and enrich the product range of output, especially goods for children, young people, and the aged. Great attention was devoted to tasks of deepening the restructuring of the style and methods of activity of the USSR ministry of light industry collegium and apparatus and of the republic ministries and to boosting the activeness of their party organizations. Specific measures were outlined to accelerate the development of the sector and ensure the fulfillment of the established targets in the third year of the 5-year plan.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.P. Biryukova spoke at the collegium.

L.F. Bobykin, CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department chief, and the leaders of a number of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations took part in the session.

January Industrial Results 'Inspire Optimism'

PM171703 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Getting to Grips With Economic Accountability"]

[Excerpts] The State Committee for Statistics has just submitted the report on industrial performance in January 1988 to the editorial office. It notes that the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) which has come into force has radically changed the conditions and methods of management in the main component of the economy. Industrial enterprises and associations accounting for 60 percent of the total volume of output are now operating on the basis of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Some 55 percent of industrial production personnel are employed at these enterprises. [passage omitted]

The increase in industrial output totaled 4.7 percent in comparison with last January, and 7.2 percent in terms of the average daily increase. This may not be an entirely fair comparison if we recall that last year's January was generally speaking disastrous. So I would like to draw another comparison: Industrial output over the whole of last year increased by 3.8 percent in comparison with the previous year.

In January 1988 contract commitments for output deliveries in fulfillment of state orders or through direct, contract-based toes with consumers were fulfilled 98.5 percent in industry as a whole. In January of last year this indicator totaled 96.5 percent. The industrial output sales plan, including deliveries, for the whole of last year was fulfilled 98.3 percent.

True, so far the difference is measurable in fractions of a percentage point. Let us not forget, however, that every tenth of a percentage point represents goods worth tens of millions of rubles.

In 1986 a total of 27 percent of enterprises and associations breached delivery discipline, and in 1987 it was 23 percent. In January this year it was 16 percent. As you can see, there has been a change for the better.

Naturally, our readers are most interested in the production of consumer goods. There are some positive changes, although the situation as a whole cannot be described as satisfactory.

In January consumer goods worth (in retail prices) R26 billion (excluding the cost of alcoholic beverages) were produced. That is R1.4 billion (or 6 percent) more than last January. However, as in the past, the production of many goods in demand was behind schedule. The production of the following goods fell short of the target: radio receivers by 59,000, television sets by 24,000, washing machines by 32,400, and tape recorders by 31,700....

As ever, there are many complaints about the work of USSR Ministry of the Light Industry enterprises. In January 377 of the ministry's enterprises failed to fulfill their contract commitments. There was a shortfall totaling R143 millions' worth of light industry output and goods. The sector has not only failed to reduce the shortfall in goods deliveries to consumers incurred last year (totaling R1 billion) but is further increasing its debts....

Nonetheless, the January results inspire optimism. Economists are rightly claiming that the new economic mechanism will only come into play fully when other component parts of the economic reform have been implemented. Specifically this means the implementation of the price-fixing reform and the introduction of wholesale trade. Nonetheless, we can see economic accountability is already enabling us to work better today than yesterday.

Public Protests Dnepr Fish Farm Plan

PM161559 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Feb 88 p 4

[Own correspondent A. Soldatskiy report under the rubric "A Trip in Response to a Letter": "Leave Well Alone... Powerful Earth-Moving Equipment Is Advancing on a Unique Nature System on the Lower Reaches of the Dnepr, with the Intention of Recarving it for the Sake of Short-Term Economic Advantage"]

[Text] Kherson Oblast—A letter has arrived at the SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent's office. It was signed by 218 people, almost the entire adult population of Staraya Zburyevka, Golopristanskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast.

What made the people put pen to paper? On the map Zburye features on the edge of a flood plain. Ever since the days of the first Russian sailing frigates, young men from this area have traditionally served in the Navy. Many subsequently choose jobs connected with the sea.

Suddenly, the inhabitants have learned that a project is being elaborated for turning the Zburyevskiy Kut flood plain into a closed water reservoir for the purpose of... fish breeding—despite the fact that the local annual catch already totals some 300-400 tonnes of high-grade fish. A dyke stretching many kilometers will cut off the flood plain from the sea. Many of the village inhabitants will be deprived of their work—after all, most of them are fishermen. "The main point which is causing special concern, dhowever" the inhabitants of Staraya Zburyevka write, "is that irreparable damage will be inflicted on nature."

The decision to invade this nature system was adopted by the Kherson fish combine. According to its director, B. Gudyma, it will be possible to produce 1,000 tonnes of silver carp in this reservoir annually. But at what pri will this fish be obtained?

So far neither B. Gudyma, nor V. Goroshko, the ch of the Ukrainian Main Administration for the Fis g Industry, who ardently supports him, has given answer to this question. Yet today, when a radica restructuring of environmental protection work has begun in the country, providing for a range of measures to improve the environment and preserve unique nature systems, special attention should be paid to these questions.

Older people remember the beautiful Dnepr flowing through picturesque reed-covered flats from the Black Sea right up to Zaporozhye. Today they remain only on the section from the Dnepr estuary to the Kakhovka GES; and in the Zburyevskiy Kut flood plain. This natural water reservoir covers 1700 hectares. River arms connect the flood plain with higher reaches of the Dnepr to the north and the Dneprovskiy Liman reservation to the south.

Now experts from the Ukrainian Main Administration of the Fish Industry are proposing to dam up all these water passages and surround the flood plain with dikes, transforming it into a "fish farm" for rearing silver carp—a species which is not indigenous to the region—this despite the fact that right here in Kherson Oblast there are hundreds of thousands of hectares of land that is unsuitable for farming. The question arises: Why take over a place where natural fish production is already under way?

True, having to build from scratch would be more expensive and would also take more time. But then fish from every new lake could be added to the fish that kolkhozes already catch in open water. Regrettably, the Kherson fish combine has failed to carry out the prescribed improvement work in recent years. This has led to a deterioration of the water situation in lakes and flood plains and has reduced natural spawning-grounds. In 1977 the USSR Council of Ministers allocated more than R100 million to the Ukrainian Main Administration of the Fish Industry for the construction of fish nurseries and fish farms. Not one industrially significant fish farm, however, has been built on the lower reaches of the Dnepr.

It is also surprising with what ease certain scientific workers .ncluding A. Ryzhnikov, director of the Kherson Department of the Ukrainian science-and-production association for fish production, have consented to the construction of a fish farm in the flood plain. Ryzhnikov, more than anyone else, must be aware of the importance of the flood plain for the natural reproduction of fish. With the construction of Kakhovka GES the spawning grounds on the Dnepr were cut down to a minimum. So fisherm 'he Kherson fish inspection collective, and , the same Ukrainian science-and-production ociation were extremely pleased when in recent years, after certain measures had been taken, sturgeon chose the Zburyev flood plain as their spawning ground! P erch, am, carp, wild carp, and sea- ch als d here. e dike will stop the migration of able species.

Bu s not all didate of Biological Sciences V. nuk, head Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Hydrobiology Inst te section of the ecolo y of water reservoirs in the northwest Black Sea region, believes that unpredictable and ecologically dangerous processes could occur in the closed water reservoir. Inevitably, the phytoplankton will perish. The quality of the water will deterioriate, it will be deprived of oxygen, and that will mark the end of the dream of silver carp.

The stubbornness with which the main administration is pushing for permission to build the dike is quite enviable. There are no blueprints yet, permission has not been given by the Kherson Oblispolkom or the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and no one has consulted the collective of the "Pobeda" fishing kolkhoz which uses the flood plain as its base, but they are already moving equipment to the shore. This includes six suction dredgers. One of them sank recently, spilling 10 tonnes of diesel fuel into the water! Considerable damage has already been inflicted on the environment.

The most amazing thing, however, is that the Ukrainian Main Administration of the Fish Industry, taking the flood plain into its sights, has drawn no lesson from the sad experiences of the past. In 1978 the Kherson fish inspection authority handed over six lakes to the fish combine. The latter cut them off from rivers by means of dikes, depleted the fish resources, and abandoned them. The same fate is in store for the Zburyevskiy Kut flood plain. This is what the letter from the inhabitants of Staraya Zburyevka warned against. Until now, unfortunately, the environmental organs have not yet raised their voice. They must express their expert opinion on this matter. The invasion of this unique ecosystem by bulldozers must be prevented. We must hand on to our descendants what nature has taken centuries to create.

Caspian Oilfield 'Shortcomings' Detailed

PM181021 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; On Shortcomings in the Work of USSR Ministry of Geology Leaders in Fulfilling Party and Government Decisions on Setting up a Large Oil and Gas Extraction Base in the Caspian Depression"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the results of a check on the fulfillment by USSR Ministry of Geology leaders of the targets for accelerating and increasing the efficiency of

geological survey work laid down by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions regarding the creation of a large-scale oil and gas extraction base in the Caspian Depression.

A decision adopted by the committee points out that this work is being carried out unsatisfactorily. Every year the plans for deep drilling go unfulfilled, and drilling rates are extremely slow. In 1987 the drilling plan was only 88 percent fulfilled. Time wasted on unproductive work amounts to one-third of work time and one in three drilling teams is not fulfilling the plan. A considerable number of boreholes are located in unpromising structures and up to 85 percent of them are proving unproductive.

This situation has emerged because the ministry and Deputy Minister Comrade R.A. Sumbatov, who is in charge of these questions, have not restructured in a timely fashion the system of planning, coordination, and scientific preparation of geological exploration work or ensured the priority development and upgrading of geophysical research equipment. The existing system of planning and economic incentives does not channel production associations and labor collectives toward discovering major deposits and is clearly wasteful.

Building up the volume of work, as they do, by increasing the numbers of working people, the leaders of the ministry and its associations have proved unprepared to develop the region using intensive factors. The existing production base, the standard of equipment and technology, labor organization, cadre training and scientific developments are not adequate for resolving this task. Scientific studies and recommendations from sector institutes do not fully satisfy Caspian geological surveyors' requirements. The large detachment of scientists from research institutes has in recent years not provided the practical workers with reliable, clear recommendations for radically improving drilling technology under the complex geological conditions in this region.

The lag in developing geophysical research is impacting especially negatively on work results. The ministry Geophysical Work Administration (chief—Comrade V.Yu. Zaychenko) has failed to provide for the development that is necessary, and this is resulting in a considerable increase in expenditure on exploration. The technical level and quality of geophysical work are low and research is not being given full computer backup. The structure of the geophysical service is incomplete, and this prevents many production questions from being resolved in a prompt, high-quality manner.

In resolving the tasks of upgrading geological exploration equipment the leaders of the USSR Ministry of Geology are not showing the requisite exactingness toward suppliers with regard to the quality and technical level of the drilling equipment being supplied.

The leaders of the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and Deputy Minister Comrade V.M. Fedosov, who is responsible for this area of work, have not ensured the fulfillment of targets for the creation of rustproof equipment and for its delivery to geological prospectors. USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems and Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building enterprises are also failing to meet deliveries of machines and instruments for the geologists.

The Caspian geological survey organizations have unsatisfactory staffing levels of specialists with higher educational qualifications in drilling and geophysics. Many engineering technical workers are poorly trained for working in the complex conditions of the region, hold outdated views on technical and economic questions, and have a poor knowledge of modern methods of management and labor organization and economic accountability [khozraschet].

Shortcomings in the ministry and association leaders' work on creating the requisite socioconsumer conditions for the region's geological prospectors were also subjected to harsh criticism at the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. Despite the rigorous conditions in the Caspian area, there are not enough housing, children's preschool establishments, public catering enterprises, or sociocultural amenities. The plan for housing construction in 1987 was only 75 percent fulfilled. Workers have serious complaints about the equipping and maintenance of the base camps and the organization of catering and leisure facilities on the drilling rigs.

The role of the Geological Survey Workers Union Central Committee and production organizations' trade union committees is inadequate in terms of improving geological survey workers' working and living conditions.

It was pointed out that the USSR Ministry of Geology party committee and local party organs are doing little to enhance Communist leaders' responsibility for the observance of party and state discipline in fulfilling party and government decisions regarding stepping up the intensification of geological exploration work.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee drew the attention of Comrade Ye.A. Kozlovskiy, USSR minister of geology, to the existing serious shortcomings in fulfilling CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on accelerating and increasing the efficiency of geological exploration work for oil and gas in the Caspian Depression.

The committee noted his statement that the ministry will take steps to eliminate the shortcomings pointed out in intensifying and building up the volume of geological exploration work, to fulfill the 5-year plan targets for

increasing hydrocarbon reserves without fail, and also to increase cadres' responsibility for creating the appropriate socioconsumer conditions for the region's working people.

Comrade R.A. Sumbatov, USSR deputy minister of geology and CPSU member, was warned for failing to exercise control over or show sufficient exactingness toward the leaders of enterprises and organizations under his jurisdiction which have permitted nonfulfillment of the targets for drastically improving geophysical studies, boosting the efficiency of drilling work, consolidating the production base, and constructing housing and sociocultural amenities in the Caspian area.

Comrades V.Yu. Zaychenko and A.I. Zolotov, chiefs of the ministry's administrations and CPSU members, were severely reprimanded for serious shortcomings in the organization of geophysical research and indiscipline in the fulfillment of party and government resolutions regarding concentrating material and manpower resources on discovering major new hydrocarbon deposits in the Caspian area.

The attention of Comrade V.M. Fedosov, USSR deputy minister of chemical and petroleum machine building, was drawn to the unsatisfactory fulfillment of targets for manufacturing and delivering rustproof drilling equipment to accelerate geological exploration work. The commitee noted his statement that the ministry is taking steps to make good the shortfalls in deliveries of equipment.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee took note of a statement by Comrade M.P. Gubin, Geological Survey Workers Union Central Committee chairman, that the trade union Central Committee will adopt the requisite measures to create normal working and living conditions for geological prospectors in the Caspian area and that exactingness toward both economic leaders and trade union committees for resolving social questions has been stepped up.

The USSR Ministry of Geology party committee was instructed to reinforce its monitoring of the activity of Communist leaders in the ministry apparatus to ensure unfailing fulfillment of the party and government resolutions on developing geological exploration work for oil and gas in the promising Northern Caspian region and improving socioconsumer conditions for the working people.

Briefs

Lena Navigation Preparations

Chief Engineer ofLena River Shipping Association V.N. Smerdov, interviewed by television correspondent Stepanov, says 530 ships are presently ready for navigation, which represents an increase of 50 ships against the corresponding period last year. He also notes oxygen welding tubing and electric welding cables are not suitable for the work at minus 40 degrees centigrade. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 19 Feb 88 OW*]

Scientific

Joint Soviet-Afghan Space Flight Previewed

LD191019 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—Nine experiments will be conducted during a joint Soviet-Afghan space flight. Its program envisages, among other things, the sounding of the earth's surface in the interests of the Afghan economy, as well as medical and biological studies connected with the analysis of the state of health of members of the international crew during their adaptation to weightlessness, a TASS correspondent has been told at the USSR Glavkosmos (Main Department for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the Needs of the National Economy and Scientific Research).

Specialists emphasize that each space expedition, be it a flight within the framework of a national space program or an international flight, is a logical continuation of previous flights. At the same time, there is always something new and original in it that enriches the world experience of space exploration.

A space flight with the participation of a representative of Afghanistan is scheduled for next August, soon after a Soviet-Bulgarian space expedition due to be held in June. It was pointed out that scientific research conducted by the Bulgarian cosmonaut would be continued by the Soviet-Afghan crew. The same research instruments will be used for conducting experiments.

Activities Aboard 'Mir' Platform Reported

LD190908 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Center:

Currently manned by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, the Soviet orbital platform Mir (Peace) lifted off on February 20, 1986, is continuing its mission in outer space.

The resident crew are to take a space walk at the end of the month to install a section of the experimental solar array brought to the platform by the Progress-34 supply craft.

The cosmonauts have begun preparing for the extravehicular job. They are to check all the necessary equipment and outfits and specify the sequence of operations they will have to perform outside the platform's walls.

Today the crew are busy, for example, inspecting their extravehicular activity (EVA) suits and checking their air-tightness.

According to the results of a medical checkup, Titov and Manarov are in good health and feeling well.

Leningrad Scientists Develop AIDS Test

OW190145 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 19 Jan 88

[From the "Soviet Union Today" program]

[Text] Scientists in Leningrad have developed an instrument which shows on a screen either AIDS or NO AIDS. After hearing this, our station reporter Likhachev made a telephone call to Lesvan, one of the developers of the instrument, and raised some questions on the mass production of relevant analyzers.

[Begin recording] [Likhachev] When will all the medical facilities which conduct checkups be equipped with the necessary instruments?

[Lesvan] Perhaps within the next 5 years. A factory in Leningrad has already started to mass produce the instruments.

[Likhachev] What are the characteristics of the instrument?

[Lesvan] The instrument is so sensitive that not only can it discover AIDS in a patient in a serious stage, it can also detect the disease during its latent period. Different from similar instruments manufactured abroad, our instrument has no moving parts. This has enhanced the instrument's reliability.

[Likhachev] Does this instrument only diagnose AIDS?

[Lesvan] No. Apart from discovering the AIDS virus, it can also detect hepatitis and influenza viruses.

[Likhachev] What do medical workers think about this instrument?

[Lesvan] Medical scientists have spoken highly of the instrument after conducting experiments. The only problem is its high cost. However, the price of the instrument will immediately drop after it is mass produced. Prices will soon be reduced. [end recording]

Need To Promote Younger Scientists Stressed

PM171311 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Academician V.S. Avduyevskiy by scientific commentator B. Konovalov under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Why Science Is Aging"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Science plays a tremendous role in the plans for restructuring. However, the state of affairs in Soviet science cannot be considered satisfactory. The press carries many comments aimed at the Academy of Sciences, particularly criticism of the election procedure. In this conversation a well-known Soviet scientist gives his view of the situation in science here and suggests a number of constructive ways to eliminate the negative trends.

Konovalov: Vsevolod Sergeyevich, the recent elections of academicians and corresponding members set a record in terms of numbers in the entire history of the Academy of Sciences. The new approach to filling vacancies was expected to lead to a drop in the average age of the academy's members. Did this actually happen?

Avduyevskiy: No, it did not. Even though more than 250 new members of the academy were elected, analysis showed that the average age of academicians and corresponding members actually remained the same as after the 1984 elections. The average age of academicians—approximately 69 years—and of corresponding members—approximately 63 years—has remained virtually unchanged after every election since 1976 and seems to reflect an objective process in the development of scientific cadres in the country.

The reduction of the average age of members of the USSR Academy of Sciences is not an aim in itself. Since many active young scientists are members of the Academy of Sciences, the maintenance of the existing average age is not all that bad.

There is another trend which is far more dangerous—the environment from which the academy's members are chosen is aging dramatically. For example, in recent years, the average age of doctors of science—the contenders for the post of corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences—has been between 54 and 55 years.

The loudest possible alarm should now be raised at the fact that the age at which young scientists begin active work in our country has risen by about 10 years. As is well known, the most outstanding discoveries, including the kind that win Nobel prizes, are made by scientists aged 30-45. You can count the number of our Nobel Prize winners on the fingers of one hand. Yet the army of scientific workers is immense—more than 1.5 million people—and it is growing all the time. Each year it increases by 3,000 doctors and 30,000 candidates of

science. But what is their age? According to the information I have, the average age of doctors of natural sciences defending their higher degree dissertations is approximately 48 years, while candidates average 36-37. This is very alarming.

Konovalov: It is clearly just as alarming that the "dissertation industry" is to a large extent a purely bureaucratic mechanism requiring great efforts from the researcher on work which most often ends up in the archives. Many young researchers simply do not want to spend their creative years in this way....

Avduyevskiy: Quite right. The USSR Central Committee Higher Certification Commission (VAK), set up in 1975, created a bureaucratic system that capable young scientists can only overcome by means of tremendous effort. At the same time, without a degree, the young scientist does not receive the necessary opportunities for research and, furthermore, encounters great material and everyday problems.

To effectively involve young scientists in solving major tasks and to make better use of their creative potential, it is necessary to free them from the need to prepare formal dissertations. After all, a student working for the candidate's degree in accordance with the VAK regulations must show a capacity for independent scientific research and the ability to do topical work. The student working for a doctorate must tackle large-scale scientific problems. To establish that this has been done, the scientific council, which consists of the relevant specialists, does not need a dissertation but can make do with published works presented for open defense in the form of books, articles, preprints, or a short report with an account of results.

The nub of my proposal is to preserve the principle of awarding academic degrees so as to encourage competitiveness in science while introducing a single-tier system of certification. The proposal is to scrap the need for written dissertations and to give problem-solving scientific councils the right to take the final decision on the award of doctorates and candidate's degrees. Degree diplomas must be issued on behalf of the awarding scientific council.

Under such a certification system, the composition of problem-solving scientific councils is to be reviewed. It is advisable to form them from scientists of various organizations and parts of the country specializing in that area or in areas that are sufficiently closely related.

The single-tier system will increase the responsibility of scientific councils for ensuring the quality of assessments and will be of great significance for evaluating the work and standing of the scientists belonging to the councils and of the organizations nominating them.

It may be argued against this proposal that the dissertation is necessary to enable the VAK to subsequently verify the quality of the award. But it is perfectly obvious that the VAK and its experts cannot determine the scientific merit of students' works any better than the problem-solving scientific council. Thus, improving the certification system requires attention to be focused on enhancing the role of scientific councils and on the quality of their members.

The very idea that the existing verification system, which presumes that the scientific councils created by the VAK itself are unscrupulous, is absurd. Why create councils that are untrustworthy? Who will vouch for the conscientiousness of the VAK's own expert analysis?

To this it may be added that cunning people who have produced no significant scientific results but who have mastered the VAK system will easily outwit it, particularly given the "loyal" attitude of the apparatus. It is virtually impossible for the VAK's expert analysis to reject a correctly formulated dissertation if it finds no glaring mistakes in it but no worthwhile results either.

The composition of scientific councils must be agreed with the corresponding departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, whose role in raising the standard of the work being defended increases here. I would also note that the existing formal list of specialist subjects does not at present reflect the multifaceted nature of science and its development. Thus the relevant specializations of students and the scientific council must be determined by the latter in a most responsible manner.

The VAK in its present form is unnecessary for the proposed system of certification. It could retain only the functions of staffing the problem-solving scientific councils and the role of supreme arbiter in disputed cases.

Konovalov: Vsevolod Sergeyevich, a few years ago the Academy of Sciences prided itself on its democratic nature. But do you not think that it is now lagging behind the rapid process of general democratization in the country?

Avduyevskiy: Democracy, glasnost, open scientific discussions, and criticism have always been and remain the driving force of science. The violation of those conditions leads to stagnation and even regression. There have been periods like that in the history of science in the USSR. Everyone remembers the attack on genetics, the anathematizing of cybernetics, and the persecution of scientists in the guise of the struggle against cosmopolitanism. Even now it is hard to estimate the harm this did to our science.

Now, in the period of restructuring, democracy, and glasnost, in the interests of developing science, the USSR Academy of Sciences must undoubtedly be substantially enlarged. This process is already under way. A number of amendments have already been made to the USSR

Academy of Sciences statutes. For example, the elections of institute directors have become more democratic. An age qualification has been introduced for all administrative posts. A decision has been taken on the chief editors of scientific journals published by the USSR Academy of Sciences—their tenure has been limited to 10 years. It has become more customary for criticism to be expressed at general meetings of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at departmental meetings, and in institute collectives with the aim of improving work. Proposals are being examined on changes in the rules and procedure of USSR Academy of Sciences elections with the aim of achieving further democratization. All this has improved the moral climate in the academy.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the consequences of the period of stagnation within the USSR Academy of Sciences have still not been completely overcome. The work on democratization is not complete.

I believe that the next logical step in the development of democratization is the establishment of fixed periods of office for all elected posts in the USSR Academy of Sciences. This also applies to the chairmanships of USSR Academy of Sciences scientific councils, which are now under review. The constant replacement of people in scientific and organizational posts will make it more difficult for individual schools to establish a monopoly in science and will substantially reduce the burden on individual scientists.

It is also necessary to improve the very structure of the academy, which has remained unchanged since 1963. The USSR Academy of Sciences now contains 17 departments arranged into 4 sections according to areas of knowledge. Because the new areas of science develop at a rapid rate this arrangement into sections is to a large extent arbitrary. This is also reflected in the composition of sections, which now vary in size more than threefold. I believe that the increasing demands for an enhanced role for the sections in coordinating science must lead to a review of the number and composition of the sections and the scientific problems that they handle.

Democratization within the USSR Academy of Sciences must undoubtedly influence the election procedure in the USSR Academy of Sciences, to which a great deal of public attention has been paid. Given the numerical growth of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the increase in the number of scientific specializations, the selection of the best new scientists is not guaranteed by the existing procedure, especially in the final stages.

Elections are currently conducted by academicians at general meetings from among candidates selected at departmental meetings. Academicians from the most diverse and far from relevant disciplines participate in the elections at general meetings. As a result, a considerable proportion of academicians do not have an opportunity to properly assess the scientific contribution of candidates and have to vote solely on the basis of reports by academician secretaries. Elections thus become considerably formal in character, and incorrect decisions are likely to be made.

This situation may subsequently become even worse because the number of academicians is over 300. The difference in their specialization has increased still further.

I believe that the election of members of the academy from candidates nominated by the departments would be considerably improved and made more specific if they were held at joint meetings of departments arranged in the sections to which scientists from related fields should belong. This, of course, should not preclude the possibility of candidates' being examined by members of other sections and other scientists or representatives of the public who wish to take part in the meeting.

Konovalov: What happened in the last elections?

Avduyevskiy: In the 1987 elections, 258 candidacies were discussed at the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting, which lasted from 10 am through 8 pm. Some of the academicians, lacking the stamina for a lengthy discussion, left the meeting before 8 o'clock without voting for a single candidate, which is tantamount to a negative vote.

The need to examine a vast number of candidates in a single day at the general meeting has increased the formal nature of the final stage of the election procedure here. The speeches in the discussions that sometimes took place often amounted to a form of emotional pressure, aimed primarily at academicians from sections whose members were unfamiliar with the candidate's work.

I think that holding elections at section general meetings, where the number of candidates and voters is reduced to approximately one-fourth, will offer a greater opportunity for calm and businesslike discussion of all the materials on the candidates and for an objective discussion. The sessions themselves will be shorter, and that will enable all section members to participate in the vote.

After holding section elections and hearing reports from the chairmen of those sections, the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting, as the supreme organ of the USSR Academy of Sciences, will be able to take a more confident decision on the ratification of new members elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

There may be other suggestions. I am simply expressing my own viewpoint. But one thing is beyond question—any measures aimed at accelerating the involvement of young scientists in resolving major problems and in the

scientific quest and at democratizing the USSR Academy of Sciences and its institutions will promote the earliest possible solution of the responsible tasks facing the country's scientists.

Leaders Attend 2 Feb Scientific Congress

LD021246 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 88

[Text] The Seventh All-Union Congress of Scientific and Technical Societies opened today in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Comrades Zaykov, Slyunkov, Dolgikh, and Razumovskiy are among the presidium. Comrades Murakhovskiy and Shalayev, leaders of ministries and departments, scientists, and production innovators are also here. Delegates representing a multimillion-strong army of innovators are discussing means to develop scientific and technical societies under the conditions of restructuring and increasing their creative contribution to all the branches of the national economy.

Academician Ishlinskiy, chairman of the All-Union Council of the country's scientific and technical societies, delivered a report.

Briefs

Personal Computer Developed

A group of engineers from Riga, giving up on finding personal computers in shops, has decided to design their own. They have managed to do this, and it has been recommended for serial production under the name (Skudra), meaning Ant. It will fit easily into a brief case and works with a cassette recorded and a miniature color television. It uses programs in BASIC. It also uses elements that are widely available, is cheaper than existing models, and is close to foreign models of the same class in its technical capabilities. Even a clever school child could assemble it. It is possible to add to its memory by adding extra units. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 13 Feb 88 LD*]

Military

Yazov Attends Military Prosecutors' Meeting

PM161249 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Guard Over Legality"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office Collegium has been held with the participation of military prosecutors of districts, groups of forces, fleets, and certain garrisons. Lieutenant General of Justice B. Popov, chief military prosecutor, delivered the report "On the Tasks of Military Prosecutor's Office Organs in Fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On Measures To Enhance the Role of Prosecutor's Office Supervision in Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order.'" He focused attention on problems of strengthening military discipline, ensuring the safekeeping of combat hardware and armament, and enhancing the combat readiness of troops and naval forces.

Army General D. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister, participated in the collegium's work and spoke.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, ministries, and departments were present at the collegium session.

Civil War, Trotskiy Role Recalled, Analyzed

PM171111 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Ryazantsev: "In a Circle of Fronts"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The article "The Revolution Defends Itself" by Candidate of Historical Sciences Colonel M. Molodtsygin, retired, and Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Mikhaleva in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA edition of 28 January aroused readers' interest. The editors have received and are continuing to receive letters asking for details of the main stages in the creation and development of the Soviet Armed Forces. The letters also call for discussion of new documents and the involvement of professional historians, participants in and eyewitnesses of events. We are fulfilling those wishes. Your interlocutors today will be Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Army General A. Beloborodov; Major General V. Konkov, retired, participant in the armed uprising in Moscow and the civil war; Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor N. Azovtsev; Candidate of Historical Sciences Colonel M. Molodtsygin, retired; and Professor P. Nikolayev.

Correspondent: For this conversation we have selected letters connected with the civil war. In our view, we have chosen the most interesting ones. On 18 February 1918, as is known, German and Austrian troops violated the armistice and switched to the offensive along the entire front. In the space of 72 hours they advanced more than 200 km deep into our territory. "Did they pass without a fight?" I. Novikov, a ninth-grader from Kharkov, asks. "Where were the Red Army's leading units prior to 23 February?" An additional question from reader S. Chashchin: Does it turn out that there were too few volunteers then, since, as we know from history, we had to go over to the principle of compulsion in forming the Army?

M. Molodtsygin: It must be said that the German troops' violation of the armistice terms was not at once perceived by everyone with proper acuteness and alarm. There really were too few volunteers at first. It was difficult for many people to realize and understand why they should go into battle, to their deaths, when the main

aim had at last been realized—the revolution had triumphed—and when the long-awaited land and liberty had been attained. The rest, it seemed, would come of its own accord. Here is a document very characteristic of those sentiments. The commander of the 3d Rifle Regiment cabled the commissar of the Voznesensk Echelon by telephone: "Tell the Extraordinary Staff's Troop Detail Department, Room 16, that there was not a single man in the Tsarskoye Selo Echelon of the 3d Guards' Reserve Volunteer Rifle Regiment to be sent to the front to fight the attacking enemy."

But then on 21 February the Soviet Government adopted the decree "The Socialist Homeland in Danger!" The troops received an order from Supreme Commander in Chief N.V. Krylenko to suspend demobilization. Red Army detachments were at once sent to Pskov and Narva to be at the disposal of the 49th Corps, where a difficult situation was taking shape....

V. Konkov: I well remember those times. We held a "Socialist Homeland Defense Day" 23 February in Moscow and also, as we later learned, in a number of other major cities and industrial regions. Rallies and meetings ended in a mass enrollment of volunteers.

P. Nikolayev: That February day was a turning point, you might say, in the Red Army's formation and the start of the active, mass revolutionary mobilization of all forces and means to defend the revolution's gains. That was the origin of the nationwide festival of 23 February—Soviet Army and Navy Day, which we will soon be celebrating. The people actively joined in the creation of their army.

The first Red Army volunteer formations united at the places of action—the Pskov, Narva, Gdov, Dno, and other combat detachments—were fighting heroically as early as late February-early March, half-clothed and badly armed, and managed to delay the German troops' advance.

Correspondent: Yet it was becoming clear even then that it was impossible to hold out against a regular, superbly equipped Army with the forces of partisan detachments and volunteer formations alone. Speaking about this, Senior Lieutenant N. Mukayev says: Why did the decision to switch from the voluntary principle in forming the Army to recruitment by draft prove so hard to adopt, and why was it not taken right away?

M. Molodtsygin: Although the number of fighters in the volunteer Red Army had reached 322,278 by 20 May 1918, only 31,000 of them were trained and just 15,500 were ready for action. The volunteers plainly would have been unable to ensure the Soviet republic's defense. The revolution's ability to defend itself was developed through a difficult search for the best ways to do so.

A number of preparatory measures were taken in March-April, and on 29 May 1918 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution announcing compulsory enlistment in the worker-peasant Red Army. It marked the switch from manning the Army by voluntary means alone to compulsory military service. That decision had many supporters and many opponents.

Correspondent: Readers complain that our literature has given superficial and one-sided coverage precisely to the practical aspect, to the struggle of opinions at various stages of the Army's development. Colonel V. Gorshkov, retired, in particular believes that many failures would have been avoided but for the disagreements in the Central Committee and within the party on fundamental questions of military policy at that time. S. Ivannikov, a student from Novosibirsk, would like to hear the opinion of an authoritative specialist on the "military opposition" and on L. Trotskiy's place within it.

N. Azovtsev: First about Trotskiy. He was not part of the "military opposition." That is a delusion. It is another matter that he did, in some sense, stimulate its emergence by his activity in the post of chairman of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council—activity distinguished by willful pressure, dictatorial ways, a scornful attitude to the opinion of front line Bolsheviks, and attempts to negate the role of party organizations and military commissars. It was precisely dissatisfaction with the activity of Trotskiy and the military department he headed that prompted even certain Communists dedicated to the party's cause to join the "military opposition."

The "military opposition" arose, I would say, out of the soil of ecstasy at the first victories over the internal counterrevolution. As long as the White Guard movement's forces had not been formed and concentrated, the volunteer detachments of Red Army men and red partisans waged the struggle successfully. Many party members believed that volunteer activity, collective methods of control, elected commanders, and partisan tactics had proved themselves and best accorded with the tasks of a revolutionary war. They were convinced that utilizing the achievements of bourgeois (and they saw precisely this nuance first of all) military science and, in particular, placing old military specialists in command posts in the Red Army was not only unnecessary but even harmful to the revolution's ideals.

To end the hesitation and disagreements in approaches to military building, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee decided to discuss the question of the military situation and military policy at the eighth party congress. The "military opposition"—A.S. Bubkov, K.Ye. Voroshilov, F.I. Goloshchekin, R.S. Zemlyachka, S.K. Minin, A.F. Myasnikov, G.L. Pyatakov, M.L. Rukhimovich, G.I. Safarov, V.G. Sorin, N.G. Tolmachev, and Ye.M. Yaroslavskiy—countered the

Central Committee's reports on military policy (G.Ya. Sokolnikov) and the military situation (S.I. Aralov) with a co-report by V.M. Smirnov, their leader.

The debate generally proved an acute one then, and the scales clearly tipped in favor of the "military opposition." For Smirnov's speech was approved by the majority at the session of the congress military section. But, as had happened repeatedly earlier and would happen later, V.I. Lenin managed to introduce a turning point into the polemic. His speech at a closed session of the congress had a very convincing ring. V.I. Lenin exposed the flimsiness of the "military opposition's" views, characterized the role of the proletarian nucleus in the Red Army, military commissars, political organs, and party organizations, defined their chief tasks, and pointed to the great significance of one-man command in the Army. Almost two-thirds of the votes were cast for the Central Committee's theses, which were made the basis of the resolution drafted by the Conciliation Commission and adopted unanimously (with one abstention).

Correspondent: "But what if the 'military opposition' had triumphed?" V. Simchenko, a cadet from Kiev, asks. "Counterrevolution within, intervention without.... It is terrible to imagine...."

M. Molodtsygin: Yes, in May 1918, when the revolt of the "vanguard of the allied armies"—the Czechoslovak corps—flared up, the situation in the country, which was already tense, was inflamed still further. Tomsk, Omsk, Novonikolayevsk, Penza, Syzran, Samara, other important cities, and transport junctions ended up in the rebels' hands....

A. Beloborodov: Toward the end of the year interventionist troops invaded our land. There were not very many Red Army men in Siberia at the time. The peasantry hesitated, and in the spring of 1919 Kolchak, proclaiming himself "supreme ruler of Russia," formed the Western, Orenburg, Urals, and Siberian Armies—more than 300,000 men. Plus 150,000 Japanese, British, and U.S. soldiers—clothed, shod, trained.

P. Nikolayev: Also plus Denikin in the south—over 100,000 more bayonets and sabers. Generals Rodzyanko and Yudenich were threatening Petrograd from the northwest, and General Miller from the north. Polish troops were advancing on the republic's western borders... Comrade Simchenko is right—the situation was really critical. In the middle of April Kolchak announced the routing of Soviet troops on the entire eastern front.

But the admiral was in a hurry. The southern group of the eastern front under the command of M.V. Frunze switched to the counteroffensive and threw Kolchak's men back beyond the Urals by the middle of June. The offensive of the White Guards and the interventionists against Petrograd was halted. The center of gravity shifted to the south. V.I. Lenin described the situation which had taken shape on the fronts in the summer and fall of 1919 as one of the most critical moments of the revolution. Orel, Voronezh, and Kursk were liberated from Denikin's men in the fall.

Correspondent: At the end of 1918 and the very beginning of 1919, when almost our entire country was ablaze in the fire of the civil war, there was relative calm in the west. I.G. Tabidze asks this question: It turns out the Germans stayed faithful to the Brest Peace, while we, so it turns out, violated it when we later drove them from our land?

N. Azovtsev: The Supplementary Treaty to the Brest Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany was concluded in August 1918. The Soviet Government then had to consent to the loss of a number of territories. But at that most complex time it was important to secure from Germany at any price a pledge not to undertake hostile actions against the republic and not to interfere in its internal affairs. It was secured.

In November, when there was a revolution in Germany and the government of Wilhelm II fell, all the treaties imposed in the past lost their force, and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee annulled both the Brest Treaty and the Supplementary Treaty.... Under the terms of the armistice German troops withdrew to the 1914 borders, and large territories of the country were liberated.

Correspondent: Including those which were soon to be reoccupied, only this time by Pilsudski's troops?

V. Konkov: Pilsudski began military operations against Soviet Russia in 1919. His troops captured western regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia and part of Lithuania. General Wrangel raised his head. His "Russian Army," about which Colonel I. Krasnenko, retired, asks in his letter, included six cavalry and six well-trained and well-armed infantry divisions. Wrangel also had naval forces.

At that time I was on a disassembled reconnaissance team. We had a rather hard time. I still have dreams at night: Sivash, Red Army men wading up to their necks through putrid water, Perekop, a sea of fire, losses....

Correspondent: "To judge from books, the cinema, and television movies," Major N. Ivanov, retired, maintains, "the Red Army, the regular Army, is frequently represented as an intrepid partisan detachment, its commanders as simpletons from among the people and anarchic hetmans, and the civil war as one long cavalry charge."

N. Azovtsev: We must remember the Red Army was a new type of army, created under very difficult conditions: A war was being waged inside the country, the counterrevolution was raising its head, there was no theoretical input, and command personnel were frequently appointed by trial and error....

V.I. Lenin's personal role during those truly crucial moments of history can hardly be overestimated. I will not try to explain when he found time to repeatedly "process" such a huge quantity of military-historical literature from Suvorov to Clausewitz, for there was probably no busier person at that time than Ilich. Lenin defined the structure and tasks of the new supreme organs of defense guidance, formed the components of defense, and headed the most responsible organs: the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, the Council of People's Commissars, and the Defense Council.

A. Beloborodov: Lenin's thought and will were felt on all the fronts. We were taking a totally new path, copying no one's experience but making creative use of it, particularly the achievements of military art, and we ourselves enriched it with progressive ideas so that the "cavalry charge" increasingly gave way to strict military science.

What commanders led us into battle! Frunze, Blyukher, Lazo, Chapayev, Shchors, Primakov, Dumenko, Budennyy, Parkhomenko, Vostretsov, Fabritsius, Fedko.... It is a pity there is insufficient space to list them all. They also include people whose names once provoked protests from the "military opposition"—the military specialists Vatsetis, Kamenev, Mironov....

You now recall those times from today's positions, and you are repeatedly convinced that only a great people marching firmly along the path chosen once and for all—toward the victory of socialism—could have borne such a thing on their shoulders.

Army General, Fleet Admiral Promotions Noted
LD162030 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has issued a decree awarding military ranks as follows:

To Army General: Colonel General Arkhipov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich; and Colonel General Popov, Nikolay Ivanovich;

To Fleet Admiral: Admiral Sorokin, Aleksey Ivanovich.

Polyakov Book Lists Army's 'Ailments'
PM101614 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 4

[Vyacheslav Kondratyev book review: "An Urgent Matter"—reviewing Yuriy Polyakov: "100 Days Before the Order" ["Sto Dney do Prikaza"], a novella, published in YUNOST No 11, 1987]

[Excerpts] For a long time we have all been worried about the rumors of so-called "nonregulation relations" in the Army, as the military themselves mildly and incomprehensibly describe these phenomena. My own period of service before the war (I did my service in 1939) is something I always remember with a nostalgic sadness, as something bright and good that gave so much to me and to my contemporaries, preparing us both physically and morally for the war that was to come 2 years later and rallying into a united, organized collective yesterday's Marina Roshcha [district of Moscow] rabble and yesterday's 10th graders and students. That is why it was rather hard for me to believe that "nonregulation relations" exist and that the Army, for which discipline is the basis of its entire existence, cannot deal with this problem.

But then the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office showed me the readers' letters on this topic and I read Yuriy Polyakov's novella "100 Days Before the Order," which, even before publication, caused indignation in certain high-ranking military men. I also knew that the novella was not written all that recently, and that it had been unable to reach the reader because of resistance from military circles, who declared this phenomenon to be "isolated, atypical," and not worth discussing.

After reading the letters and the novella, I was convinced this is a serious ailment requiring immediate treatment, and that glasnost is one of the most important means of curing it. [passage omitted]

Of course, the Army could not remain aloof from what was happening in society, and it suffered—and is still suffering—from the same ailments: "putting on a show," the lack of glasnost and democracy. Some military men have told me you cannot punish a soldier any more than you can give a student a bad mark at school, because it spoils the "overall indicators." So the ailment is driven inward, people begin to reconcile themselves to it as something inevitable, justifying this by claiming that in closed collectives such things have always happened, because it is very difficult when you have a contingent of draftees among whom there are drug addicts, alcoholics, and people who are psychologically unbalanced or even sick, since the recruiting offices' medical commissions deem them "fit."

No doubt all this is true, but at a recent meeting with students at the Military Political Academy, where the discussion was mainly about Polyakov's novella, I did not find a sense of implacability and confidence that these phenomena will soon be stopped, which is what I would like to have heard from the political workers. Once again there were references to objective difficulties. It was rather strange to hear accusations against the author of the novella that it contains no positive figure of an officer actively combating "nonregulation relations." I had to observe: If they existed, these positive figures actively cutting short the abnormal "nonregulation relations," then doubtless the phenomenon itself would not have flourished so profusely in our army.

Yu. Polyakov's novella is an alarm signal! In a short novella it would be hard to explain all the causes and sources of the cause for alarm, and so accusations that it does not show everything are, in my view, unfair. When you send an SOS, there is no time to describe the event in detail, but the warning is given. Public attention is drawn to the phenomenon. Now it is a matter of acting, of concrete decisions as to what must be done and how, to eliminate it.

Unfortunately what we see is different: the desire to defend the "honor of the uniform" by arguing that these instances are atypical, that they are isolated cases. The novella does not demand discussions of individual shortcomings or merits, it acts as a warning and takes us out of our indifference, it demands, ultimately, resolute actions. That is its social thrust and significance. Yu. Polyakov wrote something that was highly necessary and was the first to start a serious, frank discussion of something that must concern all of us. [passage omitted]

I think the novella "100 Days Before the Order" will make all Army people—from soldier to marshal—think. Think, and adopt immediate measures to stop these abnormal "nonregulation relations," which disgrace all the personnel of our army.

Paper Notes Death of Air Force General Slivkin
PM161525 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.V. Slivkin]

[Excerpts] Major General of Aviation Volodar Vasilyevich Slivkin, chief of an Air Force Rear Services directorate, has died suddenly. He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, which he joined in 1953.

V.V. Slivkin was born in Rossosh, Voronezh Oblast, 27 September 1931. After graduating from the Suvorov School, the First Leningrad Infantry School, and the Prof N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy, he served in various posts among the troops.

In 1978 he was appointed deputy chief and later chief of a leading Air Force Rear Services directorate. [passage omitted]

A.N. Yefimov, L.L. Batekhin, B.F. Korolkov, V.Ye. Pankin, A.A. Borsuk, N.G. Shishkov, V.M. Shishkin, A.N. Zakrevskiy, A.S. Goryannov, V.V. Yefanov, Yu.P. Bondarenko, Ye.A. Kabanov, Yu.I. Matorin, V.A. Fetisov.